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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Soviet Union**

***KOMMUNIST***

No 3, February 1988

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# Soviet Union KOMMUNIST

No 3, February 1988

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## CONTENTS

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[Translation of the Russian-language theoretical and political journal of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow 18 times per year]

Editorial—The Honor and Dignity of the Soviet Patriot .....	1
Pressing Task of the Soviets [A.A. Gromyko; pp 12-26] .....	6
Overcoming the Obstruction Mechanism [V. Kadulin; pp 27-34] .....	16
Democratization of the Party Means Democratization of Society; KOMMUNIST Roundtable Meeting by Correspondence .....	21
Establishing a Tradition [Yu.V. Kudryavtsev; pp 40-49] .....	25
Army of the Revolution, Army of the People; Roundtable Meeting Between KOMMUNIST and KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL	
[V. Arkhipenko, O. Khlevnyuk, A. Golda and Yu. Tretyakov; pp 50-64] .....	32
Survey from Space [B. Vinogradov; pp 65-67] .....	46
Are 'Transitions' Inherent in the Socialist Phase? [A. Gosh; pp 67-69] .....	49
Two Views on the Progress of Socialism; Editorial Note .....	50
Economic Theory and Restructuring Practice; Responses and Views .....	52
Socialist Future and Utopian Consciousness [E.Ya. Batalov; pp 77-86] .....	57
Shaping Internationalist Convictions [Kh.Kh. Bokov; pp 87-95] .....	63
Human Intellect and Technocratic Mentality [V.P. Zinchenko; pp 96-104] .....	68
School and PTU: Allies or Rivals? [A. Frolov; pp 105-106] .....	73
School Reform and the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences [M. Makhmutov; pp 106-109] .....	75
Train and Educate [N. Bulgakov; p 109] .....	77
Excluding the Gross Output Approach [E. Garunov; p 110] .....	78
Fighter for the Leninist Party [A. Stepanov; pp 111-113] .....	78
The Socialist World is a Priority Topic .....	81
The Lessons of January 1968 .....	85
Path of Labor and Struggle [V. Potapov; pp 123-124] .....	88
Words, Actions, Life .....	89
Bookshelf .....	91
Chronicle. Meetings With the Editors .....	93
Publication Data .....	94

Kommunist

No 3, February 1988

### Editorial—The Honor and Dignity of the Soviet Patriot

18020009a Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Feb 88 (signed to press 4 Feb 88) pp 3-11

[Text] Annaklych Atayev believed that he would die on 21 January. He had always looked at that day as the saddest day of the year, for it was the day Lenin died. It so happened that it was precisely on 21 January 1943 that Lieutenant Atayev led his soldiers into a battle from which—he had a premonition—no one would come out alive....

How numerous have been such events in the chronicles of the Great Patriotic War! How many examples there have been of firmness and self-sacrifice! The people went to their deaths consciously. That has always happened during the most difficult days and years. According to the legend, only one out of 10 of those who had come to the Kulikovo battlefield from the various Russian lands and different principalities returned home. Ukrainians, Belorussians, Bashkirs, Kalmyks and other ethnic groups stood up to block Napoleon's invasion, in the same ranks as the Russians. This was mandated by the heart and it was the shared calamity that brought the people together.

Socialism ascribed a new quality to the feeling of patriotism, which is as old as the existence of individual homelands. Soviet patriotism became a joint, a common patriotism for dozens of peoples. The social value of man had never before been gauged so strictly and been so directly related to the values of mankind. Who could say and when that "...We have the right to be proud and we are proud of the fact that it was our luck to **begin** restructuring the Soviet state, to **begin** with this a new age in universal history...." (V.I. Lenin, "*Poln. Sobr. Soch.*" [Complete Collected Works], vol 44, p 148)? No one had ever said this before.

The first detachments of the Red Army defended the just completed Great Revolution and future socialism. With his comrades, Lieutenant Atayev faced death on an unnamed hill not far from the Russian village of Belaya Kalitva, defending a system under which he had been raised and had lived and which had become his life and his destiny.

The enthusiasm of the first 5-year plans reflected the unparalleled upsurge of civic feelings, which united our peoples in a single unprecedented constructive thrust. Soviet patriotism became the psychological reaction to a sharp renovation of life, a firm manifestation of the emotional attitude of the individual toward socialist reality. However, can everything be reduced to emotions?

The feeling of Soviet patriotism is inseparable from awareness of civic responsibility for the fate of the homeland. Lenin described patriotism as one of the most profound feelings which developed in man in the course of centuries and millennia (see op cit., vol 37, p 190). And although socialism eliminates the class-oriented conflicting nature of patriotism, this is accomplished, first of all, not within a day or a year and, second, it does not guarantee a problem-free life for such a complex moral feeling.

History ordained that from the very first months of its life, the new system would face the need to solve most pressing problems of the dialectics of patriotism. Feelings and sober considerations found themselves in a state of irreconcilable clash. National pride was unwilling to tolerate the degrading conditions of the Brest peace treaty. It demanded that "this serious and most difficult problem be solved under the impact of emotions, and exclusively from the emotional point of view" (V.I. Lenin, op cit., vol 36, p 101). Those who demanded an objective assessment of the international and domestic situation were accused of national treason, counterrevolution and abandonment of their own principles. The struggle on the subject of the Brest peace treaty was essentially a class struggle: a clash between proletarian and petit-bourgeois patriotism.

The victory of a sober analysis over the impulsive thrusts of the "emotional revolutionaries," and the ability to see the socialist future, the study of the dialectics of patriotism, which combined filial love for the land of one's fathers and grandfathers with high awareness of personal responsibility for its destiny, were the main moral lesson drawn from the Brest peace, lessons which we have no right to forget.

Naturally, patriotism was and will remain one of the outstanding emotional features of human nature. Emotions as a rule, however, have a specific target. They focus on family, home, village or city street, giving the child his first feeling of kinship. The development of this sensation and the beliefs that will come from real life will depend on a number of circumstances.

Socialism undermines the social roots of parochialism and nationalism. However true this claim may be, it is equally true that, from time to time, recurrences of both make themselves felt quite sharply. Errors and omissions, a scorn for the objective logic of development of national relations and efforts to hasten or, conversely, to slow down the natural processes developing in this area nurture such phenomena. However, they always occur under the banner of "patriotism" and "defense of national dignity," frequently accompanied by a boiling over of passions heated by a variety of extremists.

Infinitely precious to the Soviet person are his home and the heart-rending beauty of the land of one's fathers. All of this gives a tender feeling of peace, tranquillity and maternal caress, something very personal and eternal.

But when the heart is torn by bitterness, hurt and hatred, as in 1941, childhood memories come to the surface as a clear, as a piercingly realistic image of the common great value which one must protect and defend.

The feeling of patriotism, blending with the awareness of one's own involvement with socialism, which was tempered in the crucible of a quite conflicting practical experience, tested for strength through the joy of successes and the bitterness of errors and voiced and unvoiced doubts, this feeling of Soviet patriotism assumes a new quality. It becomes richer, broader, focusing within itself a powerful moral charge, bringing vividly to light the features of internationalism. The feeling of a big and single homeland is not the sum of "small" ones; it is considerably more complex, more saturated, richer and stronger. It does not simply bring recollections, gentle and cherished melodies of the Russian horn, Azerbaijani clarinet or Turkmen dutar. It shakes the person up, unites the people in a general thrust or common anger shared by Russians, Azerbaijanis, and Turkmens, like the opening notes of the song "Arise, Enormous Country, Arise to Mortal Battle....," which has become sacred to anyone who experienced the bitterness of 1941.

Lieutenant Atayev led to the attack soldiers belonging to six ethnic groups. They accomplished the impossible: they held on for 2 days, killed about 300 fascists and destroyed several tanks. Only one of the 30 was alive when reinforcements finally reached them, and he died from his wounds several hours later. Posthumously the commanding officer was awarded the title Hero of the Soviet Union, and all of his comrades were posthumously awarded orders. They were buried in a common grave on that same nameless hill, not far from Belaya Kalitva, a Russian village.

A great cause may bring unsuspected strength in an individual. It is at that point that impartial chronicles can record unparalleled events. Few could believe at the start of 1918 that the young Soviet Republic would be able to withstand years of civil war. "Events proved," Lenin wrote, "that the energy which was generated in the worker and peasant masses proved to be greater than what the people who made the October Revolution assumed" (op cit., vol 40, p 118).

Soviet patriotism became a powerful impetus which multiplied the main and decisive force of the new social system—the creative activeness of the people and their dedication in labor and battle. The Great Patriotic War proved this not only on the battlefields. Any extreme historical situation brings to light both the most profound features of a society or social system and the typical qualities of the mentality of the people, features of the character of individuals. They do not exist by themselves but only in a state of unbreakable interconnection. If society can accomplish something unparalleled, we must look for it in the affairs of men, in human nature.

What an all-embracing, bitter and destructive, unruly and angry feeling of patriotism emerged at that time within every honest Soviet person! How intimate was the pain caused by common and personal losses!

There has never been in Soviet history another period in which patriotism was manifested so vividly. Why did it occur precisely then? The answer is not all that difficult to find: never since the time of the civil war had the fatherland found itself in such a difficult situation, and during the civil war this tangible reality of socialism, the awareness of which was increased tenfold by a feeling of love for the homeland, did not exist as yet.

Perfection is always harmonious and any exaggeration becomes distorted and sick. Was there in the postwar years a certain dilution of such a harmony of feelings and awareness, natural to socialist patriotism? Such an imbalance could not develop by itself. It was only the reflection of complex political, economic and social processes which were occurring in society. Clashes alien to socialism invaded the realm of moral feelings. Bureaucratic and dead patriotism declared war on live patriotism. That is what happened.

In 1946 M. Isakovskiy published a poem which, 20 years later, became a hit song: "The Enemy Burned My Native Home...." The reaction to it in 1946 was quick and criticism was unanimous. "The poet found simple and sincere words which described the depth of human sadness but, depicting this sadness, he lost the feeling of the age," wrote one of the central newspapers in its editorial. A week later the literary critic of another newspaper developed the same thought: "The poet has not surmounted this sadness but has strengthened it with his sympathy.... He exacerbates the wounds instead of healing them. For that reason this poem by itself can disseminate suffering.... Is thus just? Is it consistent with objective truth? I am referring not to a specific accuracy.... Individual, small truths coexist in their multiplicity. From this viewpoint as well the soldier of which Isakovskiy speaks to us is entirely possible and real. However, from the viewpoint of the truth which is characteristic and typical of our society and of the new and victorious human consciousness, said reality becomes a lie."

It was thus that efforts were made to deprive patriotism of its human face. The tens of millions of individual tragedies were not made part of a major "feeling." It was the triumph of "official" optimism: let the joy of victory become general while the bloody spiritual wounds become strictly individual, personal, family. At that time the following bookkeeper's characterization could be found in a novel on the blockade of Leningrad, in a popular journal: "It was a **protocol** of fatigue, an **act** of suffering, an **inventory** of pain." In order not to darken the "sense of the age," for 20 years the approximate figure of the total casualties of the war—20 million!—was considered "secret." The Eternal Flame was lit at the



grave of the unknown soldier with a delay of more than 20 years, and the Minute of Silence was insultingly long in coming to our television screens.

Patriotism is a live feeling which unites people not only through common joys but also common sorrows, common concerns, as during the days of parting with Lenin, the most difficult days of the defense of Moscow and the fierce fighting at Stalingrad. Patriotism, which is an alloy of the most profound thoughts and most tender and courageous feelings, is insulted and hit by the indifference of the bureaucrat and by injustice. Equally alien to patriotism are an unfeeling mind and senseless feelings.

Clearly, extremes meet. The senseless mind provokes the appearance of dangerous emotions. What happens when exaggerated feelings are raised to the level of politics is also known to us, alas, from our own history. In 1948 the routing of domestic genetics took place in precisely that manner; the ideological base of a "national" Soviet biology was proclaimed "life-bringing patriotism," which rejected out of hand and thoughtlessly anything "foreign." That year one reputable academic journal appealed in an "open text" not to discuss but to "defeat bourgeois trends which are totally hostile to us," and to wage a most merciless struggle "against servile veneration of any representative of contemporary bourgeois science, whether Bohr or Dirac...."

This occurred soon after the victory. In propaganda patriotism was increasingly covered by high-sounding slogans, losing its human features. This great and noble feeling, separated from its bearers, assumed an official solemnity and monumentality and, as such, caused a great deal of trouble.

As we know, however, the social consciousness is relatively independent and opposes any encroachments on things it holds sacred. In the same manner patriotism, not the one of declarations and demagogic twists but in the mind of the people, in the awareness and feelings of millions of people, rejected one-sidedness. Domestic history had given it firm immunity to any injustice and immorality.

Years and decades had to pass before the truth could triumph in biology and before Victory Day could be described as a "holiday with tears in the eyes." It is not the children but the grandchildren of those who fell who were to promote a union-wide march to visit the old battlefields of their grandfathers and identify hundreds and thousands of nameless graves. School children were also to find the common grave at Belaya Kalitva, not neglected and covered in weeds but lovingly cared for, in flowers. Local resident Aleksandra Mikhaylovna Pitayeva had witnessed that 2-day battle and had helped to bury the dead but could not find out who they were. For more than 20 years she had come to visit the grave of strangers to whom she felt close.

Under socialist conditions, more strongly than ever before patriotism is linked with two other novel concepts: honor and dignity. The antagonism of contradictions between the individual and society is eliminated. In assessing the social value of the individual priority is given to his civic qualities, his service to the national interests. Inherent in the very nature of this system, which is free from class, estate or national privileges, is respect for human dignity. Awareness of the personal dignity of the working people is the prime condition for the creative, social and political enhancement of the individual and, at the same time, a necessary prerequisite for the advancement of socialist society itself.

Honor and dignity equip patriotism with an active principle, combining feelings with acts and words with actions. A person without honor and dignity cannot be a true patriot.

Moral feelings, like social consciousness, are shaped by the totality of circumstances in life—major and minor. If such circumstances are conflicting, if they unequivocally infringe on the dignity of man, if they denigrate and insult him, a man raised on the basis of socialist principles has the right to question the justice of said circumstances. Injustice is manifested in the unconscientious disparity between words and actions such as, for example, when it is said that "people are the most valuable and most decisive capital," while actions reveal something entirely different. It is only decades later that we find in the list of people who have been posthumously rehabilitated the names of those who were truly valuable and loyal to the people's cause. There have been other variants as well of mass violation of human dignity. Under a powerful psychological pressure even honest and decent people sincerely put on the same level as the sacred concepts of "homeland," "people," and "party" the name of a single person, ascribing to him successes and accomplishments they had achieved themselves.

This too occurred. Social myths and psychological stereotypes are durable. In some people they were even able to withstand the upheaval caused by the 20th Party Congress and to disturb their conscience as long as the process of restoration of justice remained incomplete. This process must be completed so that, in addition to everything else, we must bury forever the mentality of the "cog," which is absolutely incompatible with the requirements of restructuring, and so that we can free the feeling of human dignity from bad admixtures, alien to socialism. This is also necessary in order to surmount the veneration of bureaucratic authority, which has still not been eliminated. This feeling was the result of strict centralization and command management methods at work and in the spiritual area, the result of times when concern for daily matters and problems was given second priority, solved on the basis of the residual principle which, in itself, is the embodiment of disrespect for the individual.

Today we are taking a close look at our history. Each generation has its own view, depending on its practical experience, knowledge and personal likes and dislikes. In the same way that man has his "small" homeland, there exists in domestic history a period he finds particularly close to him, the period during which he was subjected to the harshest trials or which gave him the unparalleled happiness of self-assertion or, in a word, which granted him a feeling and awareness of his own dignity, of his own value to society and his social significance. That is why one generation grudgingly accepts our present assessment of the 1930s or 1940s, another one of the 1960s, and so on. Sometimes the just criticism of the negative phenomena of that respective period is considered by some an encroachment on their personal dignity, and the denigration or insulting of an entire generation.

In his time, Aleksandr Tvardovskiy quite rightly and clearly distanced himself from such moods:

No, you and I are a different breed.  
The day which is gone was our own.  
We know that time  
and we equally belong to it...."

Each generation of Soviet people made its contribution to our common socialist gains of which we can be proud with full justification. One cannot be a patriot of only the 1930s or, let us say, only the 1960s, although every one of us has a particularly cherished period which coincides with his youth. Our history is one, with all of its heroic and tragic pages. We must carry with us into the present and the future all of its best and leave behind all of its worst.

However, to begin with we must be familiar with both. During the war the Komsomol brigade headed by Ye. Baryshnikova, working at the First State Bearings Plant, became famous. By combining skills and packing its working time, the brigade was able to reduce its personnel by 50 percent and fulfill its shift assignment by a factor of 3-4. By April 1944 the method developed by this brigade, which became widespread in the country, had helped to free 52,000 workers. Today the slogan of the Moscow Komsomol members "more output with less workers" sounds equally topical.

At the very peak of the war a policy was adopted according to which each oblast, kray or republic would grow its own food products.... The list of such examples could be extended.

Being proud of our heroic history is insufficient. We must know this history with scientific accuracy, in order to learn from it tangibly. But how many priceless bits of experience and of popular initiative remain unused? To adopt such a part of our past is not only economically expedient but also historically just. It means respect for the dignity of our predecessors and the continuity of Soviet patriotism.

There are things, however, which must be categorically rejected. Understandably, achievements and successes trigger entirely different emotions compared to feelings caused by the errors which were made. Some of those errors were terrible. To forget the past does not mean to surmount it. Historical loss of memory is an insult to human dignity which innocently suffered from illegality and arbitrariness. The truthful analysis of even the most bitter events indicates the courage and honesty of our patriotism and provides a moral guideline for the future.

Some of the letters to KOMMUNIST or other publications express concern: Will the young people properly understand such a painful truth of the past, would they lose faith in our ideals, would their patriotism become clouded from this truth? However, a feeling of patriotism is fruitful only when it is combined with a historical awareness. Our young contemporaries would like to understand for themselves everything through their own mind, filter everything through the lens of their own feelings. In order to understand himself and his place in life and the meaning of his current accomplishments, the patriot must look into the mirror of history. What image of himself will he see if that mirror consists of scattered bits or, worse, if it is a trick mirror?

Prohibitions and mistrust are poor educators. "We must learn to defeat within and outside of ourselves the rotten legacy of the past," M. Gorkiy said. "Otherwise, how can we 'reject the old world.' This is a song not worth singing unless there is enough strength and willingness to follow what it teaches us."

Every true patriot carries within himself a sharp feeling of justice, of historical justice. It is precisely such a feeling that leads him honestly to interpret past experience and to solve contemporary problems, clearly aware of their future significance, making him judge everything honestly. What is important is for the conscience to agree with both words and actions and for the honor and dignity of everyone to be asserted and assessed only with the help of truth. Our memory must be truthful, carefully preserving that which is worthy of immortality and be harsh toward anything which is unfair.

The revolutionary nature of restructuring and the fact that it turned its face to the individual and the increased process of democratization are encouraging the spiritual life of society, providing an impetus to the development of the best human qualities and cleaning from the rust of stagnation the direct tie between private interests and the destinies of the country. The social value of the individual in restructuring can be determined exclusively through the honest socialist yardstick of labor, of the individual contribution to the common cause and not as the result of undeserved honorary titles and rewards which distort its essence.

Today patriotism becomes above all the patriotism of action. Combined with honor and with a just assessment of the contribution of the individual, it rejects fraud,

ostentation and whitewashing. By its very nature, love of the homeland is selfless. Combined with the dignity of the individual, it gives man a deeply realized feeling of responsibility and a taste for daring and independent decisionmaking.

Indecisiveness, caution and timidity will not be eliminated merely through infinite love and clear pride, for the former are the opposite of restructuring. However, they are carefully nurtured by those who are threatened by restructuring of losing their blessed and irresponsible calm, and the rejection of a large number of now customary means of satisfying selfish interests and ambitions. The tried method of any bureaucracy of resorting to anonymous authority, knowing everything and thinking about everything, out of reach to the simple mortal, like God, has still not been eliminated. The question is sometimes asked, will the reputation of the homeland suffer from the truth of history, democracy and criticism? What will the spiteful bourgeois critics say? Will the foundations of socialism be weakened?

This is a familiar but misdirected logic. What matters is not what the Western oracles will say but what the people will. Truth has never harmed socialism. It has only strengthened its prestige and attractiveness. The noble feeling of love for the fatherland should not be deprived of its human essence, wealth, beauty and activeness or, in other words, of life. "Like all lofty words," N.G. Chernyshevskiy wrote, "like love, virtue, glory and truth, occasionally the word patriotism is used for evil purposes by people who do not understand its nature, to describe things which have nothing in common with true patriotism; that is why when we use the sacred word 'patriotism,' it is frequently necessary to define what precisely we mean by it."

In short and entirely specific terms, today the true patriot is a fighter for restructuring. The highest civic duty is to make our social system dynamic, to raise it to a qualitatively new standard. Restructuring is the strategy of development of socialism and a real cause which demands dedicated labor, discipline, the realization of all creative possibilities of everyone, filial concern and spiritual generosity.

To the one who is indifferent, society remains something outside his attitude toward his own problems. Any changes caused by social necessity, whether the introduction of state inspection or the conversion of one's enterprise to cost accounting and self-financing, are perceived as personal discomfort, with irritation and hostility, as the invasion of alien forces into the world of individual interests. The feeling of love of the socialist homeland can be experienced only by those who can feel through their work, life, mind and heart their involvement with its complex destinies and who accepts the homeland's problems and difficulties as their own.

The honest working person, the person loyal to his own and to the national cause, cannot remain impartial. He has a rich emotional world which includes pride and selfless love. How can it be otherwise, when he has behind him a great revolution, 7 decades of struggle and labor, irreplaceable losses and unquestionable accomplishments? But what makes patriotism alive is precisely the fact that it encompasses within itself many other human qualities: pride stands alongside concern, for not everything is developing the way it should. There is worry: there are some "restructuralists" who try to make use of any omission, blunder or error to discredit the very idea of restructuring.

Is a feeling of shame conflicting with lofty patriotism? In the droughty 1943 the average grain crop in the kolkhozes in the rear area was 3.9 quintals per hectare. It was necessary to import grain from the United States and Canada, but not much: 2.8 percent of our own short rations. Today this percentage is several hundred times greater yet it can be reduced to zero once and for all by surmounting our own negligence. Is such a shame not patriotic? Is our civic pride not hurt by the fact that we are purchasing abroad machines created on the basis of our own discoveries, and that a great industrial power is selling on the world market petroleum and other natural resources? Should we not be ashamed for Baykal and Ladoga, of the criminal slovenliness of Chernobyl and the one displayed at the Black Sea shore near Novorossiysk? Let us also recall the foreign airplane which landed by the Kremlin wall and a few others.

"Shame is a type of anger only turned within," Marx wrote. "If an entire nation truly experiences a feeling of shame it could become like a lion which coils up before springing" (K. Marx and F. Engels "*Soch.*" [Works], vol 1, p 371). Let us emphasize, however, that this is anger "turned inside," and not toward the outside, not traded for hysteria, not triggering panic, not slapping irresponsible political labels or, in short, not turning civic shame into elementary shamelessness and hysteria, mixed with slander and indecency.

The honor and dignity of the Soviet patriot today as well can be described briefly: to be the master of his land, of his country. The moral healing of our society is related not exclusively to surmounting a variety of abnormal phenomena which undermine the principle of social justice. Healing may not be reduced to negation. It is progressive and fruitful only when it is constructive, when it has become part of the flesh and blood of the live human body, when it has directed the mind to the search of what is new and unusual, to the assessment of minor and major governmental affairs from the viewpoint of common sense.

The purpose of the recently adopted party resolutions is to have a direct line connecting the interests of society with those of the individual, without any distortion of social justice by bureaucratic substations; for the income of everyone to be directly dependent on his personal

contribution and on the work of his shop, plant and country at large; and, on the other hand, as was pointed out during the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, for the dignity, knowledge, labor and capabilities of everyone to be respected; for the honest, working and creative person to be confident that his work will be properly assessed and that he will always be able to prove that he is right and find support, whereas the loafer, the idler, the bureaucrat and the hack will be rejected.

Morality means the assessment of any phenomenon and event from the viewpoint of social justice. It does not exist somewhere alongside our even most important accomplishments. It is within them as an intrinsic part of them, as a condenser of popular energy and as an uncompromising judge who condemns the dishonesty of militant petty tyranny and officious arrogance of smug bureaucrats who forget that they are leading people and not anonymous subordinates. Any command ambition and self-seeking whim of any manager, from minister to brigade leader, is not simply base and immoral but also anti-socialist. Respect for man is not a slogan but a moral law of socialism, organically related to another law: more democracy and more socialism.

Deviation from democracy always entails the denigration of the honor and the insult of human dignity. That is why the assertion of the truly humanistic foundations of our way of life demands the creation of the type of social mechanism which would make a return to any unwelcome turn of history impossible, including the cult of personality, arbitrariness or social hypocrisy. A moral immunity against voluntary self-denigration and, alas, the existing "rich" traditions of the aspiration to create an idol to worship, are a structural part of this mechanism. Idols, as we know, do not appear by themselves. They are created by servility, flattery and toadiness. If we are speaking of the moral nature of democracy as applicable to society and the individual, we should begin with a clear conscience which would not accept any compromise, which is a radical means against any kind of "petty cults."

Restructuring means the continuation of the cause of the Great October Revolution and we justifiably describe as revolutionary the planned changes. Although in their daily aspect the accomplishments of the fighters of 1917 and of today are different, they are firmly linked by a historical relationship and united within a single feeling, the honor of the trailblazer. To be the first is an honorable mission. It faces the people with strict demands. And the people have always found in the party their main support. The party strengthened their faith in the justice of our cause, multiplied their courage and brought to life their creative and moral potential. It is no accident that in his inspired definition of the party Lenin emphasized its strictly human qualities which have assumed universal significance. He saw the party not only as the mind but also the honor and conscience of the age.

Today this Leninist definition is acquiring a new content. The international authority of the land of the soviets is growing. The words "perestroyka" and "glasnost" are increasingly becoming part of the vocabulary of different nations. The decisive steps toward disarmament, taken by a great power, the first state document of which was the Decree on Peace, are meeting with widespread support. To the true patriot the continuation of the cause of the October Revolution is a matter of his personal honor and the assertion of his quality as the maker of a new world or, in other words, his historical dignity, regardless of what Soviet nation to which he may belong.

Before the revolution the Turkmens could not recall the birthday of their children. They did not know how to record it. When the time came for Atayev to receive an internal passport he was asked his birth date. Like many of his coevals, his answer was, "Put down 7 November."

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#### Pressing Task of the Soviets

18020009b Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Feb 88 (signed to press 4 Feb 88) pp 12-26

[Article by Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium]

[Text] The final quarter of the 20th century has faced mankind most urgently with a new global problem: the protection of nature. In terms of its significance it could be compared to the task of preventing a nuclear catastrophe and ensuring peace on earth. The growth of the population, unparalleled expansion of economic activities, enhanced technical production facilities and the chemization of many economic sectors are exerting increasing pressure on nature, disrupting the ecological balance established in our environment over the centuries and leading to the exhaustion of natural resources.

With its planned production organization and humanistic outlook, in principle socialism can ensure harmonious relations between society and nature. In the USSR environmental protection has been elevated to the rank of high state policy, as codified in the USSR Constitution.

The prompt and full solution of the problems related to improving the environment is a national cause of great political significance. Under the conditions of accelerated socioeconomic development, the restructuring of the economic mechanism and the further democratization of all areas of social life in the country, it demands new, nontraditional approaches and a new type of economic thinking which will include the increased responsibility of all units within the organization of society for

adopting a truly proprietary attitude toward natural resources. It is precisely thus that the problems are formulated in the recently adopted CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Radically Restructuring Environmental Protection in the Country." We must act as a thrifty owner who does not limit his outlook to instant benefits and does not rush ahead but chooses in all matters the type of solution which would preserve the beauty, variety and entire wealth of our nature for the sake of the future generations as well. Concern for environmental protection means concern for the working man and his health and well-being.

A great deal of work is being done in our country on environmental protection. The state allocates substantial funds for this purpose. Thus, 11.1 billion rubles in state capital investments were spent on environmental protection during the 11th 5-year period and the total expenditures for such purposes totaled 43 billion rubles. This enabled us significantly to improve the environment in a number of cities and parts of the country.

A state program for environmental protection and efficient utilization of natural resources for the 13th 5-year period and until the year 2005 is being developed. This will be the country's Ecological Program, paralleling the Food and Energy programs.

Nonetheless, we must admit that both financing and the real efforts invested in environmental protection are, as a whole, still lagging behind the scale and pace of industrial development. Until recently important problems related to environmental protection had been solved unsatisfactorily. A high level of air pollution exists in many cities and industrial centers, frequently reaching a dangerous threshold from the viewpoint of health. Severe economic and ecological harm has been caused to many rivers and lakes and even seas. The annually increasing emissions from automotive vehicles are having a harmful effect. The extraction and processing of mineral resources, timber procurements and hauling and irrigation are causing high losses. Soil and water reservoir pollution with mineral fertilizers and pesticides is increasing.

This situation was brought about primarily by the extensive, the incomplete nature of economic development, the prevalence of resource-consuming and "polluting" technologies, the orientation of industry toward intermediary rather than end results and the domination of the outlay principle in economic management. Economic stagnation contributed to a certain deformation in social awareness, such as underestimating the need for environmental protection. It can be said that the mass invasion of nature largely escaped necessary social control.

The honest and open assessment of the existing situation in this area as well inevitably leads to the conclusion that the entire course of economic and social development

approached a level beyond which it is simply impossible to live and work according to the old standards and set stereotypes. **The vital need to protect the natural living and working environment of the Soviet people urgently dictates the need for a renovation, for radical change in priorities and shaping a new ecological thinking.** Environmental protection and radically improving the ecological situation in the country thus become one of the key trends in comprehensive revolutionary restructuring.

The essence of the radical restructuring in economic management, developed in accordance with the resolutions of the 27th Party Congress and the January and June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenums, consists of upgrading the activeness of the broad popular masses, converting the economy to intensive and resource-conserving development and directing the production process toward end socioeconomic results. The successful implementation of the party's strategic course will require a substantially more efficient utilization of natural resources and intensified environmental protection.

The general long-term plan for the development of our economy is related, as we know, to the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. This presumes a clearly indicated ecological orientation on all levels. We have the right to expect and demand of basic science essentially new theoretical ideas and solutions and the creation of highly efficient technologies and technical complexes by sectorial applied and engineering-design organizations, harmless to human health and the environment; industry and economic management must ensure their fastest possible application and mastery. In our time progressive and economically most efficient technologies are, as a rule, those which are ecologically "clean," low-waste or totally wasteless. The restructuring of the economic mechanism will help us to intensify the effect of economic tools which stimulate developments in this area and contribute to the unification of all the efforts of the participants in public production.

The solution of all such most important problems must become a nationwide concern in the full meaning of the term.

**The soviets of people's deputies on all levels play a tremendous role in environmental protection and the sensible utilization of natural resources. They must become the initiators and the driving force in the struggle for the protection of nature and for the implementation of environmental protection laws.** It is precisely they which determine to a decisive extent the prompt planning and implementation of specific steps aimed at ensuring a thrifty attitude toward natural resources. The soviets and their authorities have today extensive organizational-economic and control rights which allow them to make drastic improvements in this vitally important area and to ensure the strict and comprehensive implementation of the stipulations of environmental protection laws on their territories.

The local authorities provide state administration and control in the use and conservation of water, timber and soil, the atmosphere and the animal world. They ensure the formulation and implementation of steps aimed at protecting the environment and the rational utilization, protection and restoration of natural resources. Whenever the soviets make skillful use of their opportunities and act with initiative and competence a great deal is accomplished sometimes even without additional capital investments.

Let me refer to the practical experience of soviets in Donetsk Oblast. Concern for a thrifty and economical attitude toward the environment and for increasing and preserving the natural wealth is one of the main aspects of their activities. Such problems are topics of interested discussions at soviet sessions and meetings of executive committees and permanent commissions of deputies. The executive committees of city and rayon soviets have set up active task forces consisting of specialists and activists, who regularly study the state of environmental protection at enterprises and farms in the oblast. Comprehensive plans have been formulated for environmental protection and utilization of prime and recycled resources. Above all, the soviets are operating on a broad front, involving in this matter environmental protection inspectorates and departments, scientific institutions, people's control committees, public organizations and the population. Managers systematically submit reports on environmental protection work at meetings of executive committees and permanent environmental protection commissions. Months dedicated to organizing and improving the environment and public reviews of implementation of environmental protection measures are becoming traditional. Such purposeful work by the oblast soviets is yielding tangible results. Green belts in towns have become substantially wider and dozens of thousands of hectares of land have been restored for farming purposes.

Soviets in the LiSSR are dealing systematically and quite efficiently with ecological problems. The republic has formulated and is implementing a comprehensive environmental protection plan for the period until the year 2000. It includes an entire set of scientific steps to protect the air and water basins, the soil and plant cover and the ground, the animal world and the integrity of the landscape. The fundamental ideas and concepts included in the 5-year plan for Lithuanian economic and social development have become a program for the practical activities of soviet and economic authorities. The soviets regularly concern themselves with problems of observing the legal stipulations governing the designing and building new industrial projects, expanding health areas, landscaping residential blocks and protecting the animal world. Thanks to the initiative-minded and aggressive efforts of the authorities, the ecological situation in the republic has greatly changed for the better.

However, by no means is this practiced everywhere. Many soviets are still shy in using their full powers in the

case of economic managers who violate environmental protection laws and who look at nature from a strictly utilitarian viewpoint. Such a marginal position adopted by the soviets is totally unjustified. It is by no means harmless, for pursuit after the implementation of the plan at all cost and deriving instant benefits turns out quite costly to society. The cost of reproduction of natural resources, not to mention the fact that some of them are simply nonrecoverable, proves to be much higher than the resulting income and, in the final account, may lead to the impoverishment of our common home on earth.

In order to change the situation for the better, radical environmental protection measures must be taken.

**Absolutely mandatory in this case is giving priority to the national interests.** The inflexible rule must be that draft environmental protection plans formulated by all enterprises and organizations, regardless of departmental affiliation, must be mandatorily coordinated with the soviets and their local authorities. Any assignment on commissioning of industrial projects and the development of cities and transportation systems must take into consideration the suggestions of the local authorities concerning environmental protection. **In other words, environmental protection measures must always be taken into consideration when making any economic decision.** This is a mandatory economic management standard which immeasurably enhances the responsibility of the soviets for the condition of environmental protection on their territory. They must make a much more efficient use of their rights and firmly increase their strictness toward economic managers who violate environmental protection laws.

**It is also necessary to formulate the kind of financial-economic instruments, incentives and penalties** which would encourage ministries, departments, associations and enterprises strictly to adhere to the laws and would enhance their responsibility and interest in the efficient utilization of natural resources.

The 25 July 1986 CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Measures for the Further Enhancement of the Role and Increasing the Responsibility of Soviets of People's Deputies for the Acceleration of Socioeconomic Development in the Light of the Resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress" mandates, in particular, the adoption of a system of specific steps to enhance the activities of soviets in environmental protection and the comprehensive utilization of natural and recycled resources, and intensify their control functions. Particularly important is the stipulation according to which associations, enterprises and organizations, regardless of departmental affiliation, must compensate for the damages caused from polluting the environment by making suitable payments to republic and local budgets, to be used for the implementation of environmental protection measures.

In accordance with the "Basic Regulations for the Radical Restructuring of Economic Management," which were adopted at the June Central Committee Plenum, enterprises and associations will be issued payment rates for the natural resources they use, to be paid to the union, republic and local budgets; such funds must be used for environmental protection and the reproduction of natural resources. This sets an economic and legal base for a more efficient implementation of tasks related to improving the efficient socialist use of nature by soviets of people's deputies on all levels.

In recent years the soviets of people's deputies have paid greater attention to **protecting the air in cities and industrial centers**. In a number of union and autonomous republics and oblasts target programs have been formulated for the protection of the air from pollution; substantial capacities for gas treatment and dust tapping have been installed. The quality of the air over cities such as Leningrad, Kharkov, Minsk, Riga, Ulyanovsk and many others has improved. The Shchekino Azot Production Association is being reorganized for the manufacturing of ecologically clean products and the air over Yasnaya Polyana will once again become pure. Great successes have been achieved in developing more advanced ways and means of treating discharged industrial gases.

Nonetheless, as investigations have confirmed, the level of air pollution in the cities, despite a trend toward its stabilization and reduction, remains overall high and, in some industrial centers, even threateningly dangerous. In 1986 there were cases of extremely high air pollution in Kuybyshev, Novokuznetsk, Izhevsk, Fergana, Chimgent, Dzhabul, and Yerevan. The discharging of harmful substances in the air over Moscow has increased by 6 percent in the past 2 years alone. According to the USSR Ministry of Health, the concentration of pollutants substantially exceeds the standards set for 104 cities throughout the country.

In order to correct this situation, we must, above all, equip the enterprises with contemporary and advanced dust and gas treatment equipment and, wherever such equipment has already been installed, strictly supervise its efficient use and maintain it in proper operational condition. This particularly applies to the enterprises of the USSR Minenergo, which account for 25 percent of all discharges of harmful substances in the air. Furthermore, in building new projects capacities for basic production must be commissioned only together with gas treatment and dust tapping equipment. Finally, we can no longer postpone the implementation of sets of measures to neutralize harmful releases of motor vehicle emissions, particularly in the big cities. As early as 1972, the USSR Supreme Soviet had suggested that the toxicity of the gases emitted by internal combustion engines be reduced. However, to this day this has not been done by the USSR Minavtoprom, Minselkhoz mash and Minpribor.

The same stipulations are also included in the union-wide Law on the Protection of the Atmospheric Air, which was passed by the USSR Supreme Soviet in 1980. However, some departments are either violating or simply ignoring such standards. This makes increasingly topical the task of breathing into this law a second life and systematically ensuring its implementation.

What does this pertain to? With the support of the public organizations, any local soviet and its executive committee has the right not only to demand of any enterprise manager to observe air protection legislation but also to investigate with the help of specialists and people's controllers literally all industrial projects on its territory in order efficiently to help improve the environment. If necessary, the authorities may resort to other legal steps. Thus, the councils of ministers of union and autonomous republics and the executive committees of the local soviets could, in accordance with stipulated procedures, convert to a special work system or even temporarily halt the work of enterprises or transportation vehicles with a view to eliminating atmospheric pollution. The local authorities can prohibit the commissioning of any industrial project—new or rebuilt—if its operation pollutes the air, and demand that changes be made in its production systems. In short, the law grants the soviets and their agencies extensive scope for initiative and for making optimal decisions in the interest of improving the air basin. Unfortunately, however, such opportunities are not always used.

Thus, for example, in Astrakhan Oblast, the first section of the gas complex was commissioned by the USSR Ministry of Gas Industry without the necessary environmental protection equipment. This drastically worsened the condition of the air over the Volga estuary. The local authorities themselves failed in their tasks. Representatives of the executive committee of the Astrakhan Oblast soviet, who were members of the acceptance commission, failed to display principle-mindedness and, under the pressure of the department, signed the acceptance document for the new production facility.

An absolutely intolerable situation developed in the Pervomayskiy settlement, Perm Oblast. The nearby plant of the Permnefteorgsintez Association is steadily polluting the air. The morbidity of the population, the children in particular, has worsened. The local small Mulyanka River has become totally poisoned. Treatment installations have turned into a huge dead lake. The picking of poisoned mushrooms and berries in the adjacent dying forest has been forbidden. Nature is being harmed, the people are suffering and, meanwhile, the association goes on "fulfilling its plan" at the cost of inadmissible economic, ecological and social losses, postponing year after year the implementation of its pledge of resettling the population to a healthy area. What are the Perm Oblast and city soviets of people's deputies doing? They are calmly looking at the scandalous violation of environmental protection legislation and failing to exercise their right to put an end to the scandal taking place in their territory.



**Our common task is to improve the green areas in the cities and settlements.** Air treatment, however advanced it may be, will not increase the content of oxygen in the air. That is why in each city and industrial center we must persistently implement the "green construction" plans. We must create new parks, gardens, squares and forest parks. The soviets must comprehensively head and energize such work.

One of the most pressing problems of our time is the **struggle for the protection and efficient utilization of water resources.** The essential importance of this problem was pointed out by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo which studied the intolerable situation which has developed at lakes Baykal and Ladoga. The discussion by the party's Central Committee of the letters sent by the working people about the ecological situation in the basin of Lake Ladoga met with tremendous public response. It was resolved, in particular, to restructure two cellulose-paper enterprises on the banks of lakes Baykal and Ladoga which would enable them to produce ecologically clean goods and put a full stop to the discharge of untreated water. The responsibility for ensuring the accurate and full implementation of resolutions related to radically improving the ecological situation has been assigned to ministries, departments and, naturally, soviet authorities. This equally applies to other territories.

The soviet and economic authorities face difficult tasks in areas adjacent to our southern seas—Azov and Aral—the condition of which causes serious concern. The Sea of Azov, which offers unique conditions for fishing and fish breeding, is being intensively polluted by the stock waters of industrial and agricultural enterprises located along the basins of Don and Kuban Rivers. The Aral Sea, the level of which has dropped by 12 meters, is suffering from the negligent use of irrigation water taken from the Syrdarya and Amudarya; a high percentage of this water is irretrievably lost, raising the level of the ground table and salinizing the soil.

The enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy are guilty of applying a departmental approach to water utilization. Every year some 700 million cubic meters of polluted water is dumped into the basins of the Dnepr and Don Rivers in Voroshilovgrad, Dnepropetrovsk, Donetsk and Zaporzhye Oblasts. According to the UkSSR Minvudkhov, the above-norm polluted water caused a damage of 15 million rubles in 1986 alone. In the Zaporzhye area and in its lower reaches the Dnepr has actually stopped being a fishing river. The USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy is paying insufficient attention to the building and operating of treatment systems. Yet the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree on "Measures to Prevent the Pollution of the Basins of the Black and Azov Seas" made it incumbent upon the ministry to end entirely by 1985 the dumping of effluent water by enterprises. This requirement was ignored. The fault is not only that of the

ministry but also of the soviet authorities which have not taken economic managers strictly to task concerning such a vitally important social problem as environmental protection.

The gross violation of environmental protection laws by the Cherepovets Metallurgical Combine, which dumped at the beginning of 1987 effluent water into the Sheksna River, was one of the items on the agenda of a Cherepovets City Soviet meeting. The coreport of the permanent commission for environmental protection and the efficient utilization of natural resources set a strict and principle-minded tone of the discussions. The city soviet made it incumbent upon the combine's managers to speed up the installation of a system for the recirculation of water and to reconstruct facilities for the biochemical treatment of effluents.

As the joint session held by the commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet on environmental protection and efficient utilization of natural resources of August 1987 indicated, the Ministry for the Production of Chemical Fertilizers remains the largest environmental polluter. River waters are being poisoned by dissolved chemical fertilizers, toxic chemicals and pesticides which are drained off from the fields with the effluents. Furthermore, in a number of farms chemical fertilizers and preparations are being stored carelessly and used ignorantly. More than one-half of polluters on the territory of the Russian Federation are managed by the Gosagroprom. An adverse situation exists also in most of the cotton growing areas in the Central Asian republics, where increased amounts of pesticides are being used in irrigated farming. In intensive rice growing areas of Krasnodar Kray over extensive areas water polluted with herbicides is carried by the Kuban River into the Sea of Azov.

The permanent commissions recommended to the ministry and to many other departments to intensify the construction of environmental protection facilities and its control over the installation of the ecologically most important projects. It was suggested to accelerate the creation and use of new ecologically safe technologies and efficient means of environmental protection at enterprises producing chemical fertilizers.

At the same time, the local soviet and economic authorities must bring order in the storing and utilization of fertilizers.

Payment for the use of water taken by industrial enterprises from industrial water systems, which was introduced with the 25 July 1986 CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers decree, is an efficient economic instrument for the conservation of national water resources. In order steadily to increase the pace at which enterprises and associations use recycling facilities and thus contribute to maintaining a system of the lowest possible pollution of rivers, lakes and other water reservoirs, in addition to



the withholdings paid into their budgets for the use of water, the soviets of people's deputies on all levels must systematically control the observance of the established cost accounting procedure for the utilization of water resources.

Controlling water resources and their sensible use are most closely related to concern for the purity and maintenance of the water levels of big and small rivers. The "Clean and Full Small Rivers" public initiatives, which were launched under the guidance of the soviets in Poltava, Voronezh, Lipetsk and other oblasts, are worthy of all possible encouragement.

Deputies are assuming an ever more active stance in such matters. Thus, at the session of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet, Deputy V.S. Morozova addressed a query to the heads of the republic's Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources. With a resolution passed by the UkSSR Supreme Soviet on this matter, it was made incumbent upon the ministry to take specific steps to clean the beds of small rivers, to improve the level of their hygiene and water stocks and to eliminate reasons for the flooding of land and settlements. The republic soviets were asked to increase their control over the implementation of such measures.

Such useful experience must be disseminated more extensively and we must consistently struggle against a thoughtless and wasteful attitude toward water resources and organize a system of protective measures.

**A thrifty attitude toward the land** is a most important component of the tremendous work of the soviets on environmental protection. This offers extensive scope for initiative by deputies and for specific actions, such as introducing scientific farming systems, making efficient use of each hectare of farmland, reclamation, and strict control over the observance of land legislation.

In Belorussia, for example, thanks to deputy initiative, some 14,000 hectares of farmland were added to the crop rotation system within a short time; this yielded an income of 3.6 million rubles. As a result of investigations of the proper utilization of the land in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast, 49 people were prosecuted for violations of land legislation. In Chernigov Oblast soviets have denied 17 requests for the use of land for nonagricultural purposes. However, the scope and efficiency of the organizing work by the soviets in this area must be increased.

A great deal of work is being done in the country to improve the soil through reclamation. The size of irrigated land in the country has exceeded 20 million hectares and that of drained areas, 15 million. However, this has resulted in an insignificant increase in agricultural productivity; yields on reclaimed lands remain inadmissibly low: the planned level has been reached in no more than one-third of the reclaimed areas. Furthermore, in 1986 nearly 1 million hectares of reclaimed land was not irrigated and more than 1 million remained

totally unused. On 25 percent of the available acreage quality improvements in irrigation systems must be made. Reclamation also requires an entire set of agro-technical steps, including struggle against soil erosion, the liming of acid and saline lands, soil protecting and water conserving wooded belts, the cultivation of natural pasture grounds, the irrigation of pasture land, the creation of mud-slide prevention systems, etc. These are the tremendous opportunities of irrigated land, which must be used! Here the rural authorities, the deputies, must make their stand. We can no longer tolerate an irresponsible attitude toward the land, which is the country's main national resource.

In recent years the problem of flooding as a result of the raised ground water level, resulting from gross violations in designing, building and operating hydroengineering equipment and reclamation systems has become aggravated. In the Ukraine ground water floods large areas of farmland. In Turkmenia such processes are particularly noticeable in the zone of the Karakum canal. Many similar cases may be found in Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kirghizia. Therefore, the oblast, rayon and rural soviets must assume permanent control over water engineering construction and the use of reclaimed land in order to correct the situation.

In June 1987 the permanent commissions for the agro-industrial complex and for environmental protection and efficient utilization of natural resources of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers discussed the implementation of the planned assignments for commissioning reclamation systems, upgrading the technical standard and quality of water engineering construction and ensuring the efficient utilization of water resources by the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources. The deputies noted major shortcomings in the work of the engineering organizations of the USSR Minvodkhoz: between January and May 1987 alone expert commissions of the Gosagroprom rejected 27 of 52 submitted projects. The strictly departmental approach was manifested most strongly, as we know, in the formulation of a plan for transferring some of the stock of northern and Siberian rivers to the south. Meanwhile, economical methods and encouraging the efficient utilization of water are being extremely poorly applied in the area of water resources: water losses from transportation alone account for 20 percent of the overall volume.

The permanent commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers asked the Minvodkhoz to accelerate the restructuring of its investment and technical policy and concentrate on improving the condition of reclamation resources. At the same time, it was pointed out to the local soviets that they must intensify their management of water resource building with a view to increasing returns on irrigated and drained land and ensuring the stricter observance of legislation governing the protection and efficient utilization of land and water resources.

The land is our main resource. However, what large numbers of examples of land waste we see all around us! Frequently land is uneconomically used for construction purposes: cities are being expanded excessively, plants are being built all over the place and a variety of bases and warehouses are being erected at random. Strips of condemned land for laying railroad tracks and highways are not always efficiently mapped. A great deal of land is lost under dumps of rocks from the extraction of minerals!

Such wasteful attitude toward the land is costing us dearly. We are particularly concerned by the fact that in many parts of the country the natural fertility of the land is declining and the humus layer is getting thinner. Indications of this kind were noted in the Central-Chernozem, Volga-Vyatsk and East Siberian areas. Wind and water soil erosion are causing tremendous damages. In Voronezh Oblast thousands of hectares of fertile chernozem are being sliced by ravines. Frequent dust storms break out and kill the crops in Kazakhstan, the southern parts of Siberia and along the Volga. Some oblasts, such as Guryev and Volgograd, have land which has yielded nothing for years: it is plowed, sowed and fertilized after which not even combines are sent to harvest the crops....

Wherever the soviets of people's deputies show proprietary concern for the health of the land its fertility rises steadily, the economic efficiency of agricultural production improves, the flora and fauna become richer and human life becomes more beautiful. This can be confirmed by numerous facts. Let us recall the tremendous damage caused by dust storm caused at the turn of the 1970s in the Kuban, Stavropol and the Crimea. Now, thanks to the implementation of a set of agrotechnical, biological and reclamation measures, land fertility has been restored and the land is reliably protected from the elements.

Yields in Belorussia, the Baltic republics and many areas in the Ukraine have substantially increased in the past 5 years. Here are specific examples: extensive practical experience in soil protection in farming has been acquired by the kolkhozes Avangard, Koropskiy Rayon, Chernigov Oblast, imeni XXVII Syezda KPSS, Ber-shadskiy Rayon, Vinnitsa Oblast, and imeni Zhdanov, Goshchanskiy Rayon, Rovno Oblast. A substantial contribution to this effect was that of the rural soviets, the deputies of which became the initiators and direct participants in environmental protection measures. Based on last year's results, these farms were declared winners of the "Land Is Our Wealth" republic contest.

The extraction of coal, ore, shale, petroleum, natural gas and other mineral raw materials leave deep scars on the land. Unfortunately, available technology does not always allow such extraction by harmless means. It becomes necessary to remove the upper soil stratum and

displace the dirt. Particularly severe harm is being done to arable land in the Kuzbass, Donbass and Tyumen and Tomsk Oblasts and many areas in Central Asia.

This land could be restored or, as the specialists say, recultivated, and such projects are being implemented every year on areas in excess of 100,000 hectares. For example, in just 2 years the Estonslanets Association rebuilt some 900 hectares of mined areas. However, by no means are all enterprises concerned with restoring damaged fields. Particularly severe criticism has been addressed at enterprises of the USSR Minstroyaterialy, Minugleprom and Minchermet. The Lebedin mine alone in Belgorod Oblast has already absorbed more than 35,000 hectares of most valuable chernozem. It is painful to look at the mined-out parts of the land, which remind us of the lunar surface, in many rayons in Kemerovo, Kursk and other oblasts. In addition to department heads, responsibility for this must be fully assumed by the Kursk, Kemerovo and Belgorod Oblast and rayon and city soviets of people's deputies.

**Concern for the timber**, for this great gift of nature and a priceless resource of our homeland, is a major area of soviet activities. We hold one-quarter of the entire world stock of timber resources. However, this stock is by no means used as efficiently as required by the interests of the national economy. We must solve an entire set of ecological problems, such as the location of timber procurement areas, the pace and nature of reforestation, and the creation of natural parks and reservations.

The situation, as depicted by the permanent commissions on industry, environmental protection and efficient utilization of natural resources of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers in studying the situation of enterprises under the USSR Ministry of Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry was not a pleasant one. In violation of the requirements of the law, timber procurement workers practice unsystematic cutting, disrupting and exhausting timber bases. A great deal of timber is being discarded, crushed by trucks and burned. Within a 5-year period (1981-1985) new growth covering more than 200,000 hectares has been destroyed and more than 600,000 hectares of land remains uncleared from logging residues.

The permanent commissions of the chambers called for energizing reforestation, strengthening the protection of forests and significantly increasing the utilization of timber waste.

A tremendous quantity of timber is lost in the building of hydroelectric power plants, and society has justifiably sounded the alarm on this matter. Plans for hydroengineering installations must be widely publicized from the position of environmental protection. The soviets of people's deputies must become the organizers of such discussions and subsequently strictly supervise the implementation of decisions.

Alarming reports are coming from Siberia and the Far East: a unique timber species—cedar—is being threatened. In the past 15 years the area covered by cedar forests in the Far East has declined by nearly 20 percent. However, the scale of the felling is not being reduced. In Maritime Kray cedar accounts for nearly 29 percent of all timber, but also for more than one-third of the volume of timber procurements. It has been estimated that income from cedar nut procurement alone is 15 times higher than the value of cedar lumber. Taking this into consideration, starting with 1971 the felling of cedar trees has been totally banned in Novosibirsk Oblast and, since 1985, in the Jewish Autonomous Oblast. Clearly, such steps must be applied to all cedar forests.

The preservation of forests, like that of the entire plant and animal world, is helped by reserves, state preserves and national parks. Their task is not only to conserve natural complexes but also to serve recreation, education and science purposes. A great deal of interesting and comprehensive work waits to be done in this field and cannot be carried out without the active assistance of the local authorities.

The pressing problems of managing and controlling the use of nature have made it urgently necessary to **simplify the multiple-step discoordinated system of authorities in charge of state control over the use of nature.**

That is why, while ascribing exceptional importance to perfecting overall environmental protection in the country and upgrading responsibility on all management levels concerning the quality of the environment and organizing the efficient use, reproduction and preservation of natural resources and exercising a unified scientific and technical policy in this area, the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers passed a resolution on setting up a union-republic USSR State Committee for Environmental Protection.

The USSR State Committee for Environmental Protection becomes the central authority of state administration in the area of environmental protection and utilization of natural resources. Together with the councils of ministers of union republics, it assumes full responsibility for environmental protection and for organizing the efficient utilization and reproduction of natural resources in the country.

A great deal remains to be done also to perfect the economic mechanism which should ensure **the optimal combination of the interests of the developing economy and the rational utilization of nature.** The inclusion of Article 20 "Use of Nature and Environmental Protection" in the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) was a response to the imperative of our time. It defines the obligation of enterprises, in the interest of the present and future generations, to ensure the efficient utilization and, above all, reproduction of natural resources.

The adoption of the new law opens for the soviets of people's deputies a vast area of work: the development on their territory of the type of economic structures based on the use of wasteless technological cycles and efficient utilization of local raw materials. The executive committees, permanent commissions for industry and construction and deputy production groups must systematically deal with such matters. They must sum up and disseminate progressive experience and the law-enforcement authorities must take strictly to task those who violate the legislation on environmental protection and dump or disperse valuable raw materials. A great deal of work must be done in this area. Suffice it to say that the thermoelectric power plants alone generate about 65 million tons of ash and ash-slag waste, only a small percentage of which is used. The dumps themselves cover 140,000 hectares of land.

The CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers have deemed it necessary to increase the responsibility of republic and local soviet authorities for collecting secondary raw materials and putting them to efficient use. The local soviets must do a great deal more to locate such resources, expand the network of reception centers for secondary raw materials and organize their fullest possible recycling, particularly for the purpose of manufacturing consumer goods. Under the conditions of the new economic mechanism, the development of cooperatives and individual labor activity will help in this respect.

Let us particularly consider the problem of the **legal support of environmental protection and rational utilization of natural resources and the efficiency of legislation in this area.**

As we know, in addition to the implementation of large-scale organizational and economic measures for environmental protection, the Soviet state pays great attention to the development and improvement of **environmental protection legislation.** In recent years major union and republic laws have been passed on environmental protection and the efficient utilization of natural resources, which define the trend of activities of state and economic authorities in this area. However, under the conditions of restructuring, the system of environmental protection laws must be substantially expanded and made consistent with practical requirements.

The major state investments in environmental protection measures by no means always yield adequate returns. In frequent cases funds and construction materials are wasted. Sometimes it is only the appearance of environmental protection that is created. Strange though it might seem, so far we have no scientific method for computing economic benefits or damages: no cost accounting is used in environmental protection work. As a result, the sectorial approach which develops in practice concerning various types of natural resources is

beginning to affect nature as a whole ever more detrimentally. The local authorities are not always resisting the pressure of departmental interests.

Under the conditions of restructuring it is becoming increasingly pressing to apply cost accounting methods in managing environmental protection problems. The self-support mechanism, which some economic managers treat in narrow and one-sided terms, forces us to consider improving the economic and legal means for neutralizing the harm caused to nature in the course of the further development of production forces.

Alarming information has already reached us that some enterprises and associations, which have converted to full cost accounting, have begun to pay less attention to environmental protection activities. We must firmly struggle against such a trend and this should be mainly the concern of the soviets of people's deputies. Above all we must intensify control over the implementation of plans for comprehensive socioeconomic development in terms of environmental protection and the efficient utilization of natural resources. At the same time, the respective central departments must, once and for all, set a procedure for determining and compensating for harm caused as a result of environmental pollution by associations, enterprises and organizations.

We should also consider as a whole the adoption of a set of measures to ensure the strict observance of environmental protection legislation and upgrading liability for its violation. For example, quite recently the USSR Supreme Soviet passed laws on the protection of the air and the preservation and utilization of the animal world. The importance and timeliness of such laws are obvious. However, so far there have been no radical improvements in the quality of the air and the protection of the animal world.

This is due to a variety of reasons. Unquestionably, there have been some gaps in the legislation itself: some of its stipulations are vague and unspecific; the degree of responsibility for the violation of the law is not always clearly defined or, in general, no specific penalties are stipulated for any harm caused to nature.

However, this is only one aspect of the matter. The other is that many stipulations of the laws on environmental protection are simply being ignored. The result is the following: a law is passed and economic managers, and there are many such, with the connivance of the local soviets and law enforcement authorities, circumvent them and are in no hurry to implement their requirements. Naturally, they hide behind "production interests." Such illegal activities frequently get out of hand. As a result, the legal instruments included in environmental protection legislation become worthless.

Such practices cannot be tolerated. This was particularly pointed out in the resolutions of the 27th Party Congress, the June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and other party and state documents.

Essentially new approaches to the implementation of the requirements of environmental protection legislation must be included in currently drafted legislation. This should apply above all to those the purpose of which is to protect the great varieties of the plant world and to control the use of chemicals in agriculture. At the same time, a general USSR Law on Environmental Protection is being drafted, which will reflect uniform principles of environmental protection and resource conservation.

In improving ecological legislation, prime attention should nonetheless be paid to the practical observance of its stipulations, for in the final account this is what matters the most. The soviets and their authorities can and must significantly increase their work on the implementation of legislative steps aimed at protecting the environment, intensify their control over the strict observance of legal regulations and improvements in the country's ecological situation. Currently soviets on all levels have set up some 3,700 permanent commissions in charge of environmental protection and efficient utilization of natural resources, which include a total of 32,000 deputies. This tremendous force must be used at full capacity.

What does this refer to? Not sporadically but on a permanent basis, together with specialists, the deputies must study the ecological situation in their rayon, settlement, enterprise or association. They must strictly take to task economic managers for violations of environmental protection laws and supervise the implementation of soviet resolutions.

Today the soviets of people's deputies have a clear program of action. This was confirmed yet once again in the course of discussing problems of environmental protection and efficient utilization of natural resources at the 1987 sessions of the supreme soviets of union and autonomous republics and the meetings of their presidiums and permanent commissions, and at the sessions of a number of local soviets and their executive committees.

However, as the study of environmental protection practices has indicated, the soviets must accomplish much more in this area. Above all, they must study at their sessions and meetings of their permanent commissions and executive committees, much more thoroughly and profoundly, problems of observing the requirements of environmental protection legislation as applicable to the specific conditions of their area; they must practice more extensively the system of deputy queries on the observance of environmental protection laws. The soviets must keep in their sight improvements in the substantiation of planned measures and their priority implementation at projects which exert the most harmful influence

on the environment and the health of the population and on increasing their control over the precise and full implementation of legislative stipulations. The Soviets must perform more fully their organizing function and include specialists in solving specific problems. They must mold public opinion and, in the necessary cases, ensure the participation of the population in practical environmental protection steps.

It would be no exaggeration to say that **environmental protection has become an international, a universal concern.** Today global concern is increasing on matters such as atmospheric pollution and the scale at which harmful substances are carried across large distances. Efficient practical steps taken on the national and international levels, on a coordinated or parallel basis, offer the most hopeful opportunity for radical changes in the situation which is developing in the area of planetary environmental pollution.

Naturally, the main prerequisite for environmental protection is the consolidation of peace, the struggle for disarmament and the prevention of nuclear war. As was noted in the appeal "To the Parliaments and Peoples of the World," adopted at the sixth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet (November 1986), "there is a place for all countries to participate in the common process of freeing mankind from the nuclear burden."

If mankind is unable to prevent a nuclear war, the result would be a real ecological catastrophe and, in all likelihood, the last on our planet. In today's world any "limited" or "controlled" nuclear war is chimerical. Neither neutrality nor geographic distance from strategic military targets and global industrial centers would offer any protection from its consequences.

Putting a halt to the arms race and preventing an irreparable overloading and barbaric destruction of ecological systems are two global problems, the lack of solution of which really threatens the existence and survival of mankind. That is why increasingly urgent demands are being formulated for the adoption of international "ecological ethics." In the nuclear missile century animate nature must be protected above all from military adventures, which are fraught with fatal consequences to it.

Protecting the air, water, land and sea and the plant and animal worlds and mankind and its habitat from the fatal strike of a terrible nuclear or ecological sword is no longer possible through the efforts of a single country or a group of countries. This requires the constructive interaction among all countries and peoples and a new way of thinking. This was discussed in detail by M.S. Gorbachev in his 16 February 1987 meeting with the participants in the international forum "For a Nuclear-Free World and the Survival of Mankind."

Let us once again emphasize the fact that today not only a new political but a new ecological thinking is needed in relations among countries belonging to different social systems. Naturally, in this case we must take into consideration the immediate as well as probable long-range consequences of the decisions they make. This fully applies to environmental protection on a national and global scale. Chernobyl proved how important a new, a responsible approach is necessary for the protection of the environment and on problems of contemporary technology. As we know, tremendous efforts had to be invested to eliminate the consequences of the breakdown of the nuclear power plant. Yet this is by no means an isolated case in international practice.

The USSR is actively participating in the work of international environmental protection organizations projects (such as the "Universal Environment Charter," which was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1982 and which holds all countries responsible for the preservation of our planet and its resources); it shares experience in solving topical problems of environmental protection. Soviet specialists participate in the implementation of environmental protection measures on the international level, within the United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP), the European Economic Commission, the Convention on the Pollution of Areas Across Large Distances and the Vienna Convention on the Protection of the Ozone Layer.

Long practical experience has proved that the global ecological problem does not exist by itself. It is part of a broad spectrum of complex international processes, the solution of which is possible only through the interaction of different countries.

It is legitimate, therefore, for the tasks of cooperation among all countries in environmental protection and in the solution of other global problems of mankind to assume a notable role in the suggestions submitted by the socialist countries on the creation of a comprehensive international security system.

Nowhere else are problems of environmental protection and efficient utilization of its resources formulated so extensively and consistently as in our country. At all stages in the development of the socialist state they have remained one of its main concerns. Starting with the very first years of the Soviet system, V.I. Lenin signed decrees which called for the efficient utilization and preservation of natural resources. Today such environmental protection ideas are being properly implemented and developed in the policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

Now, when the task of intensifying production has risen in its entire magnitude, it is becoming obvious that the steps previously taken for the utilization and preservation of natural resources are clearly insufficient and cannot satisfy us under the new conditions. A radical

solution to the problem lies in sensible and comprehensively considered economic management, including radical restructuring of technological processes in favor of low-waste and wasteless production systems and improving the organization of the efficient use of nature. We need a set of economic, organizational and legal steps for the purposeful and far-sighted control over the increasingly complex relations within the **man-society-nature** system. For it is a question of adopting a concerned approach toward the most important part of the national resources of the country and the health of the people.

It is precisely on the basis of such positions that the soviets on all levels, from the supreme to the rural, must intensify and restructure environmental protection work at the present stage.

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### **Overcoming the Obstruction Mechanism**

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[Article by V. Kadulin]

[Text] "Let Us Strengthen Restructuring With Action," was the heading of a letter with which the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee turned to the party members and all working people in the republic in the period of preparations for its 9th Plenum. These words express in clear and simple terms the prime, the most urgent requirement of the present in the life of the party and the country. The response to this appeal was hundreds of letters.

"The mechanized potato-growing link which I lead dug out 2,150 tons of potatoes from an area of 75 hectares in 1987," writes Hero of Socialist Labor Viktor Romanovich Masyutkin from Dobrushskiy Sovkhoz, Gomel Oblast. "We have extensive opportunities for the better utilization of arable land. That is why I share the concern of the Central Committee for the need to ensure a drastic improvement in crop growing efficiency. We must change the system for procurements of spare parts and tools. Neither selkhoztekhnika in the past nor the rayagrosnab today are able to solve such problems...." Following is an excerpt from the letter by Vera Sergeyevna Khokhol, milkmaid at the Kolkhoz imeni XXII Syezda KPSS and member of the Berezinskiy Rayon Party Committee, Minsk Oblast: "In 1987 I barely reached the 3,000 level in milk production per fodder-fed cow. I realize that more milk must and can be produced. With a reliable fodder base the only way of upgrading the productivity of the milk herd is knowledgeable breeding. However, under the conditions of the rayon this problem has still not been solved satisfactorily...."

Letters in which we read an honest, a conscientious attitude toward problems, dissatisfaction with accomplishments and concern for the outcome of social changes around us and readiness to directly participate in them lead us to consider the "Belorussian phenomenon." To me and my coevals, for example, it is remembered from wartimes, when virtually all of Belorussia rose to the struggle against the occupation forces and became a republic of partisans.

This phenomenon reappeared with new emphasis decades later under absolutely different historical circumstances. Actually, is it not a fact that even during the dullest, the most stagnating years in our history, the republic made reliable socioeconomic progress? Even negative phenomena and a variety of social anomalies did not assume here the painful gravity and dangerous scale they did in many other parts of the country. What was its secret? There are no miracles in this world, in any case not in the political and economic area. In Belorussia the seeds sown in April fell on prepared grounds.

In the past 2 years the republic's national income increased by 11.5 percent as compared to the planned 9.1 percent figure. Many of the most important indicators relative to material production and the prosperity of the people increased at a faster pace. Last year, for example, the grain harvest averaged 34 quintals per hectare and the potato harvest, 200 quintals; milking per cow averaged 2,985 kilograms. Assignments for the completion of housing, schools, hospitals, polyclinics and other consumer-purpose projects were overfulfilled. Within that time almost 200,000 families moved into new homes. A total of 5,600 kilometers of asphalted roads were laid or 1,700 kilometers over and above the plan.

However, least of all were the participants in the 9th Belorussian CP Central Committee Plenum concerned with taking an inventory of successes achieved. They preferred, entirely in the spirit of the times, to concentrate on unsolved problems.

The calm practicality displayed in the proceedings of the plenum was the result of firm organizational support which was a matter of particular concern for the Central Committee Buro and its apparatus, as it later became clear.

In the course of the preparations for the plenum, the Belorussian CP Central Committee held meetings with secretaries of party raykoms, gorkoms, and obkoms, and with heads of mass information media and financial and economic services. Preliminary reports submitted by elected authorities on managing restructuring, submitted at meetings held in all primary, rayon, city and oblast party organizations in the republic, were a tangible contribution to the preparations for the plenum. This is no ritual statement. Such a contribution could have been significantly more modest had the Belorussian CP Central Committee not detected and blocked on time the

trend of meetings being led along the trodden path of formalism, which is dangerous to restructuring, and turning statements and speeches into ordinary and totally innocuous self-reports in which no place would be found for the search of new approaches to the solution of problems which concern labor collectives. In its 11 November 1987 resolution, the Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro recommended that the accountability campaign be halted in order to ensure more thorough preparations for it. This was done and second meetings were held in 266 primary party organizations.

V.I. Boris, head of the department of organizational party work of the Belorussian CP Central Committee, described to me some "technological" innovations which, in the general view, helped to upgrade the efficiency of reports on restructuring and, therefore, restructuring itself. In each oblast, for example, two or three so-called open rayon committee plenums were held, at which as many as 10 secretaries from other rayons were invited. The guests subsequently participated in the collective analysis of the recently completed work. Such "open" plenums and their subsequent analysis turned out to be much more useful and instructive compared to traditional instruction conferences and seminars. Also worthy of approval is the quite widespread practice of preliminary publication of the theses of the accountability reports and speeches delivered by party committee secretaries at meetings held at primary party organizations.

It is easy to realize that the importance of such innovations is not merely perfecting, albeit radically, the technology of party work. They also serve as real prerequisites for converting relations between party committees and the broad party membership and the nonparty members into a system of open dialogue. Other than such a dialogue it would be difficult or, to be more accurate, simply impossible to achieve a systematic and profound democratization of the party and the society, which will be discussed at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. It was thus that the 9th Belorussian CP Central Committee Plenum became a constructive dialogue which was almost entirely free from command shouting, instructions or self-admonitions.

The "daring structure" of the discussion which took place at the plenum was the expanded critical analysis of the main units of the obstruction mechanism. Persistently and convincingly, citing figures and facts, the speakers proved that there were no reasons for any complacency and that so far less than was necessary had been accomplished.

The republic's population is increasing year after year and so is, correspondingly, the need for food. Nonetheless, increasing the efficiency of animal husbandry is largely hindered by the fact that the republic gosagroprom is still focused on extensive methods of maximally increasing feed units and has still not organized serious work to improve the quality and the balanced nature of

feeds. Today it is more than ever important to attain the mass mastery of scientific knowledge and progressive experience by the rural working people and to ensure their extensive practical application. In animal husbandry this task, in the view of R.A. Blishch, head of the dairy farm of the Kolkhoz imeni Dzerzhinskiy, Rechitskiy Rayon, Gomel Oblast, and member of the Belorussian CP Auditing Commission, is being solved poorly:

"For years there have been no improvements in livestock farm machinery and mechanisms; there is a great deal of manual labor, and technological improvements are slow.... We rarely see in the farm specialists from the gosagroprom. In the past, when they came for investigations of shortcomings, we could not get rid of them. Now, when we need practical help, they are nowhere to be seen...."

Housing is an additional traditionally pressing problem. In the past 2 years the assignment on the completion of housing was exceeded by 5 percent. However, there has been no substantial change in the building of apartment units out of population funds. The share of private homes in the overall volume of completed housing remains under 10 percent. The plan for cooperative housing construction is not being fulfilled although 126,000 families are waiting for their turn to move into cooperative apartments. The amount of housing built by the enterprises themselves remains small.

"I believe," said L.S. Yermachenkova, relay electrician at the Lukomlskaya GRES imeni 50-Letiya SSSR, "that the buro insufficiently supervises the implementation of resolutions aimed at solving social problems in the republic, housing construction above all.... Could it be that the reason for which this problem is being solved slowly is that most of the people present in this hall already have proper housing?..."

At the plenum the Belorussian party members expressed their serious concern for the fact that the republic is short of children's clothing and that furniture production has fallen behind the pace of housing construction and the creation of gardening associations. Even after obtaining a new apartment, the people must wait long periods of time for most necessary household items, such as kitchen furniture, beds and sofas.

After the leadership of the Belorussian SSR Minzhilkomkhoz was strengthened, communal services improved. This is confirmed by the nearly 24 percent increase in the volume of paid services rendered to the population by sectorial enterprises over the past 2 years. Today as well, however, as for long periods in the past, housing and sanitation equipment repairs remain a difficult problem for the republic's population. As in the past, demand for the building of small garden huts and garages remains unsatisfied.



The present status of material and technical health care facilities causes major concern. In the republic the number of physicians per 10,000 population is below the national average. Furthermore, substantial differences among oblasts are concealed behind such general indicators. The dental service has proved to be particularly neglected. I shall not go on tiring the readers with such sad enumerations of deficiencies and disproportions which have appeared at different periods in the development of the social sphere in the republic. Today it is greatly hoped that cooperatives will eliminate such lags. However, for the time being such hopes remain unjustified, as was most frankly mentioned at the plenum.

Today the Belorussian SSR has almost 500 cooperatives. Naturally, this is too little! However, their percentage in the overall volume of services provided to the population is even more modest: they account for no more than 0.34 percent of the total. Although the earnings of most cooperative members may seem impressive, the means through which they conduct their activities are frequently puzzling.

Actually, there are 96 cooperatives within the system of the republic's Mintorg and the Belorussian Cooperative Union which were set up, as a rule, not in addition to but instead of the previous public catering enterprises and on the basis of the latter's facilities. Many such cooperatives freely purchase at state prices in stores products in greater demand and sell them with markups of up to 300-900 percent.

Is it astounding, therefore, that under such protected circumstances which are not impeccable from the viewpoints of legality and economic common sense, the members of such cooperatives can achieve fantastic profitability without any particular effort? Profitability at the Fantaziya Jewelry Cooperative in Minsk reached 5,500 percent; its colleagues at the Poiska Cooperative, which manufactures bone-carved objects, reached a profitability of 1,831 percent. Profitability at the Bodrost Cooperative, which helps the citizens of Slutsk to improve their health, is 1,549 percent. Any sensible tax policy would, we believe, normalize cooperative income without undermining the economic incentive of the workers in broadening and improving the quality of their services.

No one is ensured against negative phenomena, and difficulties in the cooperative movement which is taking its very first steps. However, nor should they be ignored, as is frequently the case today. A calm and sober study must be made of the activities of the cooperatives and we must find efficient means to ensure legal and economic control over them, above all from the viewpoint of the consumers' interests.

The shortcomings and omissions in the activities of the republic party organization, which concerned the party members, whether pertaining to the management of the development of the agroindustrial complex or machine

building, upgrading the quality of output or restructuring the work of theaters, or else strengthening law and order, are entirely familiar, being quite typical. That is why there is hardly any need to comment on, not to mention describe, all that was heard at the plenum.

It is much more important, we believe, to note one of the essential features of the discussion which was held at the plenum: the clearly traced desire of its participants to determine more extensively the roots, the reasons for omissions and shortcomings in the work whenever such omissions and shortcomings were of a widespread nature.

"Tell me," said Ye.Ye. Sokolov, Belorussian CP Central Committee first secretary, who delivered the report at the plenum, "is the underestimating of democracy, fear of glasnost and criticism and self-criticism, of anything which creates a situation of dissatisfaction and which hinders the full exposure of the creative and moral potential of the individual, not part of the obstruction mechanism? What about the command-bureaucratic style of management and the underestimating of economic methods? What about the poor link between practice and science, the scornful attitude toward the solution of social problems and the gap between words and actions shown by some leading cadres? And what about low personal responsibility? Are these also not components of the obstruction mechanism? We still have many officials who, instead of doing their work, engage in endless coordinations: managers of republic agencies with union authorities; of oblast with republic and of rayon with oblast, as a result of which time is lost and there is no progress. We should also include among the major parts of the obstruction mechanism lack of organization and discipline, idle talk, ostentation, formalism and paper chase...."

The participants in the plenum tried to highlight the most important "sore spots" of restructuring, the existence of which is caused by the effect of the obstruction mechanism, and collectively to discuss the most efficient means of healing them.

The power of obstruction is inversely proportional to that of cost accounting relations applied in public production. This diagnosis of the ills afflicting our economy was confirmed yet once again and convincingly illustrated at the plenum.

The work of the Belorussian railroad workers under cost accounting conditions was rated highly. On the basis of extensive technical retooling, in the past 2 years labor productivity in the sector increased by 17 percent. The experience of the railroad workers is being mastered today by enterprises and associations of the BSSR Minavtotrans and Minsvyaz, civil aviation and the Minsk subway.



"Conversion to economic management methods and new forms of labor organization will help the economy to increase output within the shortest possible time," said N.A. Melnikova, chief agronomist at the Peramoga Kolkhoz, Zhitkovichskiy Rayon, Gomel Oblast. "Income and profits have increased by a factor of 2.5 and profitability by 52.5 percent. However, converting to cost accounting triggered a number of problems as well...."

These problems are related to the further enhancement of the economic autonomy of enterprises and associations as well as, as the Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro believes, the increased rights of the primary production units, such as shops, sections and brigades. Unfortunately, by no means have the economic levers and incentives stipulated for the enterprise as a whole determined the behavior of the direct performers. This prevents linking the individual interests of the worker with those of the collective and, with society at large.

"For the time being practical experience of work under the new economic management and wage conditions and preparations for conversion to full cost accounting," said A.A. Sanchukovskiy, general director of the Gorizont Production Association in Minsk, which has substantially improved its work of late, "have faced us with a number of problems. However, we must begin by providing the people with economic training. Last year, in converting to the new wage conditions, 217 specialists were demoted on the basis of certification results. At the present time economic difficulties have slowed down collective contracting; failures and breakdowns have become a permanent phenomenon.... Other examples could be cited as well which make us realize that for the time being we have not only failed to learn how to think and act in terms of economic methods but are not even trying seriously to eliminate existing economic ignorance...."

The current essentially cumbersome, sluggish and command-oriented economic management style continues to clash with the stipulations of the Law on the State Enterprise. In accordance with the resolutions of the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum, extensive work was done in the republic under the guidance of the Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro, to develop a new general system for economic management. It calls for abandoning the administrative-command management methods and bringing management closer to production. In this connection, the republic intends to close down 9 ministries, 6 state committees and 3 departments. Upgrading the level of production concentration by setting up state production, industrial-trade and design-construction associations and strengthening those already in operation will ensure a conversion to an essentially two-step management system. All of this will enable us to reduce the management apparatus by 50 percent on the republic, and 30 percent on the oblast level. The rayon level will, conversely, be strengthened.

In order to enhance the role of the local authorities in the comprehensive solution of socioeconomic problems, the oblasts must set up main production-economic administrations and territorial design-construction and repair-construction associations. A number of local industry enterprises and road-building organizations will be placed under the direct jurisdiction of the executive committees of rayon, city and oblast soviets.

Unfortunately, A.A. Zelenovskiy, first secretary of the Brest Party Obkom, noted in his address, the approach to matters is changing slowly in a number of units within the republic's apparatus. It is not for their pleasure that local personnel are making the rounds of offices with thick folders in their hands. Such trips are mandated by numerous documents issued by union and republic authorities. They have clearly become obsolete and must be revised and a number of problems must be placed under local jurisdiction.

"Of late," noted L.G. Kletskov, first secretary of the Grodno Belorussian CP Obkom, "the activeness of ministries and departments in managing their enterprises has declined, although even in the past it was not all that high. The personnel are waiting for reorganization and, absorbed by concern over their own future, avoid solving topical problems. Clearly, in the interest of our projects, we must accelerate improvements in the economic management apparatus...."

A number of sharp but just statements were made at the plenum concerning this unfortunate departmentalism, which is having an exceptionally strong obstructive impact on the further normalization of social relations and is slowing down socioeconomic progress. The speakers noted that so far party committee workers as well have been unable to avoid departmentalism. Departmental interests are dangerous because people operating in one sector or another become their defenders, becoming entangled in current problems and ignoring long-term projects. Another hindrance is the inertia of paper chasing. For example, personnel of the economic department of the Central Committee work late in their offices. As it were, however, in the past 2 years they have been unable to submit to the buro a single suggestion on accelerating the republic's socioeconomic development.

In the view A.S. Shchetko, machine operator in charge of raising young cattle at the Krasnyy Oktyabr Kolkhoz, Stolbtsovskiy Rayon, Minsk Oblast, the Central Committee Buro and apparatus must directly consult with rank-and-file party members, meet with them more frequently on-site, exchange views and jointly formulate action programs.

"In order to avoid errors," said V.I. Kozyak, first secretary, Shchuchinskiy Party Raykom, Grodno Oblast, and member of the Belorussian CP Central Committee, "we are pursuing an open cadre policy, taking into consideration the views of the working people. In the choice of managers the party's influence ends with helping the

members of the collective to choose those who are most worthy and able. The Central Committee Buro and departments must study this complex process and sum up available experience...."

The speaker emphasized that, considering the forthcoming accountability and election conferences of rayon, city and oblast party organizations, the committees should include the most initiative-minded party members who enjoy a high reputation among and the trust of the people. For that reason as well the current procedure of scrupulous consideration of so-called quantitative and qualitative indicators, according to which the membership of the committee and, particularly, the buro, is determined by superiors, on the basis of position, should be amended. Democratic principles must be strengthened in intraparty work as well.

Unfortunately, such an interesting topic related to the development of intraparty democracy was not brought to its conclusion. In general, it must be acknowledged that the insufficiently developed democratic structures and procedures, whether related to the party or any other public organization or topical problems of accelerating the democratization process, were not subjected to a thorough and profound study at the plenum. Yet here the forces of obstruction are still being felt quite tangibly. In my view, a more detailed analysis should have been made of the experience gained by the republic in the area of democratization of cadre policy and problems of its further improvement.

The trade unions were severely reprimanded. Although they have increased their work, such efforts largely remain sterile and inefficient. As they have done for many years, the leading trade union authorities engage in inspections, paper chases, and handling a variety of reports, with an emphasis on noting shortcomings and going no further than recording the facts.

Democratization, glasnost and the renovation of life, delegates said, have shed a new light on problems of educational work with the growing generation. Everything points out that we must enhance the activities of Komsomol organizations. Many of them are engaged in petty and insignificant projects and are poorly familiar with youth interests. The result could be compared to two streams flowing parallel to each other. One of them is the Komsomol committee with its problems. The other is life with its formal and informal associations, families in trouble and problem adolescents. One can only regret that a critical analysis of the reasons for the still sluggish restructuring in the activities of public organization, which appeared so promising at its start, was not pursued in the course of the debates, although the opportunity was there, for speakers at the plenum included V.I. Goncharik, chairman of the Belorussian Republic Trade Unions Council, and V.V. Gurin, first secretary of the Belorussian Komsomol Central Committee.

In its report, the Central Committee buro self-critically acknowledged that it had neglected the development of the social sciences the condition of which today requires radical improvements in the organization and content of scientific research and cadre training and retraining. What enhances the importance of accomplishing this faster is that the political and general knowledge of cadres, including party ones, is not always sufficiently high; lack of knowledge in the humanities greatly hinders the renovation of society, nurturing a technocratic approach to the work.

We believe that this equally applies to ideological work which, as was noted at the plenum, remains alienated from life and from the practical requirements in the second stage of restructuring. A number of facts were cited confirming this harsh conclusion. Many speakers addressed critical remarks at the mass information media, although not all of them sounded convincing. The point is also that debate standards are difficult to master, having been neglected for a long time. Unfortunately, despite its entire sharpness, the discussion on the status of ideological work fell short of an analytical and systemic approach. There are all indications that such a discussion is as yet to take place and so should, one hopes, a comparative analysis of the activities of the oblast committees of the Belorussian Communist Party, which would make it possible not only to gain a better understanding of the reasons for successes and failures on the way to restructuring but also to disseminate new approaches to the work and more efficient ways and means of functioning.

A great deal remains to be done by the party raykoms, gorkoms and primary organizations. The activities of these most important party units and the experience in working in a new style they have acquired in the course of restructuring, were closely considered by the plenum. The ability of the primary party organizations of the Belorussian communists is being assessed particularly strictly. Here are some figures in support of this statement: in the course of the accountability campaign 1,209 secretaries of shop and primary party organizations were re-elected; 269 members of elected leading bodies were recalled, including 70 secretaries, for failure to justify the trust put in them; the work of 23 party committees and buros was considered unsatisfactory. The primary party organizations of a number of ministries and departments were criticized at the plenum for their continuing condescending attitude toward poorly working officials. Some of these organizations seem to ignore the fact that the administrative apparatus is functioning with its old ordering methods, shackling the initiative of labor collectives and not helping them to surmount increased difficulties. It was also noted at the plenum that for the time being the high role which must be played by the party organizations of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the BSSR Council of Ministers in restructuring and acceleration is not being felt. Personnel turnover, inflated paper shuffling and the lack of activeness on the

part of the party members lower the vanguard role of the primary party organizations in labor collectives, which are the main unit in renovation.

In the opinion of the plenum's participants, the imperfect structure of party committees seriously hinders restructuring of organizational and educational work. That is why, A.S. Kamay, first secretary of the Gomel Belorussian CP Obkom, believes that it would be expedient to grant, within the limits of their wage fund, obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms the right to set up their own structures and tables of organization.

Another "sore spot" which drew the attention of the participants in the plenum was the fact that the elected aktiv was insufficiently involved in the work of the republic party organization.

"I feel great responsibility as a member of the Belorussian CP Central Committee," said R.V. Masalkova, rewinding machine operator at the Khimvolokno Production Association imeni V.I. Lenin in Mogilev. "I try to justify the trust put in me through my work and participation in the social life of the plant and the city. At the same time, my work as member of the Central Committee is reduced merely to attending plenums. The result of this is that I have also been made member of the party gorkom buro, deputy of the city soviet and party group organizer. I have realized that participating in the work of more than two elective party authorities does not allow a party member to fulfill his duties in full and I hereby motion that the question of bringing order in the participation of party members in the work of elected party organs be considered at the 19th All-Union Party Conference...."

The dismantling of the obstruction mechanism must be continued. The degree of civic-mindedness and of political and labor activeness of every party member in this inordinately difficult work will determine, in the final account, the pace and depth of the process of all-round renovation of socialism. To strengthen restructuring through action is the way the most important task of the day has been formulated. There are no alternatives to it.

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**Democratization of the Party Means  
Democratization of Society; KOMMUNIST  
Roundtable Meeting by Correspondence**

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[Continued discussion of the democratization of the Party and society]

[Text] With the publication of the letters which follow we are continuing our discussion of problems of party building and the further democratization of the party and society (see KOMMUNIST No 18, 1987; No 2, 1988).

T. Tairov, doctor of juridical sciences, professor, head of sector, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economics and International Relations:  
"Necessary Refinements"

The time of restructuring could be compared to the first years of the Soviet system, when an intensive creative search was under way for efficient ways and means of building socialism. I recall V.I. Lenin's words at the 7th Party Congress, about its program: "The pace of development is so fast that we cannot postpone matters. Despite present difficulties, we shall draw up a program in which there will be many errors. However, this does not matter for in the next congress we shall correct them, even if this will represent a rather fast correction of a program. However, life is advancing so rapidly that if it becomes necessary to make a number of corrections in our program we shall make them" (*Poln. Sobr. Soch.* [Complete Collected Works], vol 36, p 60).

I believe that this Leninist instruction retains its methodological significance to this day. The party program should not be considered a holy writ. Was this not that brought us in its time to dogmatism and sluggish social thinking? Did we not ourselves convert at a certain stage in our history the 1961 program into a kind of book of quotations pertaining to all situations in life?

The current extensive development of democracy and glasnost, therefore, put on the agenda the question of the procedure for discussing in party circles the nature and form of work in drafting a party program. As we know, this was a key problem in the history of the Russian social democratic movement, which determined the future of the party and the revolution. The process of the formulation of party programs developed as a democratic process, accessible not only to individual personalities and party theoreticians but to its rank-and-file members as well. Lenin systematically saw to it that the party program remain theoretically clear, cleansed of repetitions which prevent our understanding but instead confuse the meaning, distract our attention and weaken the text. Unfortunately, in drafting the third program we were unable to implement such Leninist requirements in full. A great deal in its text consists of repetitions and excess wordage. The impression is created that the effort to "encompass what cannot be encompassed" and to consider all problems violates the integrity of the document.

There are those who will say that there is nothing to think about concerning the party program, since it has been discussed and adopted by the congress. The main thing is to implement it. This is true! However, that is precisely why we need a critical analysis of what we adopted and recorded yesterday in our programmatic document.

Substantial positive changes in all social life, including the further development of intraparty democracy, also raise the question of introducing respective amendments in the CPSU statutes.

Today demands for the steady reinforcement on all levels of the party's leadership with fresh forces, for direct and secret vote in the election of secretaries and party committees and nominating an unlimited number of candidates are heard with increasing persistence. They are not only heard but are also being implemented. The principles of electiveness and rotation of cadres must, obviously be extended not only to the elected members but also to the personnel within the apparatus of all party committees without exception. On this subject the CPSU statutes are very brief and unclear. They state that committees on different levels "must set up an apparatus for current work in the organization and control of execution of party decisions and for helping subordinate organizations." A number of questions arise to which no satisfactory answers are provided. Why must an apparatus be "created?" Who is creating it? Why not elect it? What are the criteria governing the setting up of an apparatus? We know from experience that the apparatus turns out to be stronger and more durable than elected committee members.

What guarantee do we have that the personnel of an apparatus would not develop a corporate morality and that in all cases without exception they would put the work first ahead of protecting their high positions? I am convinced that the party can and must today, when a process of democratization is gathering strength in society, set the example of electiveness and replaceability of all of its authorities, including the apparatus and, naturally, after formulating the corresponding statutory criteria to this effect.

Restructuring is creating a new generation of party leaders and workers who work among the people and together with them solve the problems raised by life. We say that the CPSU has become the party of the entire people, exists for the people and serves the people. If such is the case, why not start immediately by introducing in our social life the elements of public and open discussion of candidacies for high party positions?

Here is yet another small but important detail of the statutes concerning trust and glasnost. I believe that we must raise, on a statutory basis, the question of the submission by all elected authorities information on party fund revenue and expenditures for the period under accountability. Reports on financial activities would eliminate the shortcomings discussed in the report submitted by the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU to the 27th Congress. The new draft of the program stipulates that "no single party organization or party worker must remain outside of control," and that party membership "offers no privileges whatsoever...." Said stipulations must become the reality of daily life and be reflected most fully in the statutes, which should clearly define the mechanism for the implementation of such highly moral objectives.

The party program as well should include a work document which would promptly reflect changes occurring in our society. Only then would the program become a

manual for action to its fullest extent. There would be nothing prejudicial in the fact that at subsequent congresses the question may arise of introducing amendments to the party program and its statutes. Such amendments are a necessary prerequisite for the further democratization of party and society, which will be discussed at the forthcoming all-union party conference. It is precisely through the clash of opinions and positions and in the course of the scientific substantiation of alternatives for the further development of our society that we can strengthen theoretical thinking which is so greatly needed today by the party and society as a whole.

**I. Gabidulin**, candidate of technical sciences, instructor at the Kiev Higher Air Force Engineering School: "The New Requirements Need New Methods"

Personally, among the questions suggested by the journal to the participants in the roundtable discussion by correspondence I would single out that of the position of the party in the structure of our society. The party is far removed from aspirations to "artificial vanguardism," which is seen in the various symbols of administrative or any other authority and the suppression of the will of the majority by the party apparatus. The power of its influence lies elsewhere. Let us recall the way V.I. Lenin modestly described the Communist Party as a "minority," as a "drop in the sea," the task of which was to convert the cause of building socialism into that of all working people. Yes, Lenin struggled with all his strength for the creation of a mass party. In this case, however, he had in mind above all the nature of its influence, and its comprehensive impact on the feelings of the people or, in simple terms, its authority among the masses, rather than simply the quantitative growth of party ranks.

As we know, the party implements its vanguard role through the party members who work in the various areas of our society, regardless of their position. Bearing in mind the party's reputation, they must not act as economic managers and assume the functions performed by state and public organizations.

The existence of this kind of situation has been reflected in the fact that the party's Central Committee departments have accurately duplicated, and continue to do so, the state establishments and supervise their activities as a superior authority. Naturally, the same system was reproduced on all levels of the party structure. But is this a protection from errors or even crimes committed on a national scale? The following question arises: Today, as we convert to economic management methods, and when the existence of entire ministries becomes questionable, would departments in the Central Committee and the obkoms and gorkoms continue to manage as in the past? In any case, live economic management practice "votes" in favor of closing down the sectorial departments of party obkoms, as has been already justifiably written about in the central press.

A similar picture, with some nuances, may be noted in the primary party committees. It is no secret that frequently personnel of local soviets or industrial and agricultural specialists frequently become secretaries of rayon, city and oblast committees. This cannot fail to leave its mark on party committee management style and methods.

In this connection, I would like to touch upon the question of training party workers. In my view, the level of their professionalism is not always consistent with the now stricter requirements. The professional training of party workers was discussed with a great deal of concern at a recent CPSU Central Committee conferences. Let us consider propaganda cadres, for example. In frequent cases they can barely produce visual agitation materials or write a speech which sounds like a management economic report. The result is posters and slogans which do not affect or which sometimes even irritate people, but on which a great deal of materials and labor have been wasted, poor lectures consisting of compilations, and fear of engaging in live propaganda work among the masses. "Personal influence and speeches at meetings," V.I. Lenin wrote, "are terribly important in politics. Without them no political activity is possible...." (op cit., vol 47, p 54). Let us admit that many party workers cannot properly talk with the people.

However, the skill of verbal propaganda and the custom and ability to communicate with people verbally are inordinately important precisely now, in the period of restructuring, when the people are learning how to debate and support their views, and when the full and truthful information they receive is justifiably linked in their minds with the rich and bright personalities of those who bring them this truth.

This as well, it seems to me, leads us straight into the area of cadre policy. I believe that, among others, it is high time to change the procedure used in electing party authorities. It would be expedient for elections to leading party positions, from the general secretary of the Central Committee to the secretary of a primary party organization to be based on direct secret vote, preceded by a discussion of several candidates. The multiple-step system of elections and interference in such elections on the part of superior authorities under the guise of recommendations, result in the fact that democracy is replaced with bureaucratic administration and that essentially those who assume leading party positions are not elected but appointed, on some occasions virtually for life. If this "procedure" is unsuitable today in economic activities, what can we say about applying it party practices?

It seems to me that we must also revise the practice of nominating delegates to party conferences (rayon, city, oblast). Why is it that in our country one economic manager or another (as a rule of the leading enterprise in the rayon or oblast), by virtue of that circumstance alone, is almost automatically granted the right to participate in the work of party forums on different scales?

Is this consistent with any stipulation in the CPSU statutes? It is not. It is simply a question of accepted practice, of "that is how we do things." Accepted by whom, and why? In my view, this practice must be changed by the party members, by the primary party organizations themselves.

Here is another unspoken agreement. In recent decades leading positions have been mandatorily held by CPSU members. This appears as though we are urging some people to join the party for career considerations. To such members the party card becomes, so to say, a "bread-ration card," a pass to personal benefits and indulgences and the forgiveness of "sins." Yet we also know of a different practice according to which quite highly placed managers have not been party members, but have been trusted nonetheless (B.M. Shaposhnikov joined the ranks of the VKP(b) only after he had already become chief of staff of the Worker and Peasant Red Army; for many years nonparty member I.G. Petrovskiy was Moscow State University rector). So far, personally I personally have not come across a single nonparty social science teacher in a VUZ, not to mention a head of department.

Let me say a few words about the intelligentsia. M.S. Gorbachev reminded us of its role in the contemporary social process yet once again in the course of his visit to the United States: "...The ferment in the minds of the people always begins with a ferment in the minds of the intelligentsia. The intelligentsia is the yeast of any society, triggering the development of new processes." Are we not confident that such a ferment would follow the direction needed by society? In my view, the concept of "worker" should not apply only to people engaged in production or in purely physical labor. Today many work skills require higher education. Nonetheless, the concept of intellectual labor as being "easy," not requiring any particular stress of not only mental but also physical effort, has clearly become obsolete. In my view, on this subject the viewpoint expressed by Academician T. Zaslavskaya is quite legitimate. She claims that it would be more accurate to speak of social groups which maintain a specific relationship with the means of production and public ownership.

**V. Anoshkin, V. Akseshin, Yu. Bubnov, V. Bushuyev, P. Mochalov, A. Ivanyushchenko, N. Parinos and V. Shubinko**, secretaries of party committees at plants, production lines and administrations, GAZ Production Association: "Without Formalism!"

The conversion of enterprises to cost accounting and raising wage rates and salaries of workers in the production area have brought to life a number of essential problems which, frankly stated, have greatly complicated the work of elected party authorities. Today work with cadres on the primary party level and their selection and placement become particularly important. What are the problems which the party organization at the Gorkiy Automotive Vehicles Plant has been unable to solve?

The first problem:

The use of cost accounting, in which every person matters and the struggle waged for economizing every kopek makes inconceivable the existence of so-called "snowdrops," or people who are performing work which is necessary and important but not of the type in which the brigade is engaged. Today, as we know, all collectives make their precise estimates of outlays and results and have no use for someone whose name is on the brigade's roster, regardless of the type of work he may be performing in the shop's interest.

Everyone understands that it is unsuitable for a party organization secretary to be a burden to the collective, although everyone realizes that the work he performs is quite important and necessary. Naturally, many such secretaries are volunteers. However, we frequently encounter cases in which volunteer party organization secretaries have no time even to collect membership dues on time.

Let us try to consider, albeit briefly, the obligations of a shop organization secretary. Here is a simple enumeration of his duties: to organize and guide the work of the buro members; exercise personal control over the implementation of work plans (current and long-term); not to forget work with cadres; work recruiting frontranking production workers in the CPSU and training young party members; supervise through commissions the activities of the administration; guide the press and supervise the content and form of visual agitation; work with various aktivs; hold party meetings and buro sessions; supervise the implementation of decisions; guide party groups and to work with party group organizers individually; carry out party assignments (to the extent of his forces and capabilities); organize through his own party members and activists the Marxist-Leninist training of party and nonparty members; through the shop party committee, organize the economic training of the working people; maintain on a proper level verbal political agitation; improve intraparty information; engage in individual work with party members; and provide party guidance to the public organizations. This is by no means the full list of stipulations enumerated in the statutes and instructions.

In the last years of the period of stagnation party organization secretaries (they in particular) were assigned obligations which should have been assigned to kolkhozes and sovkhozes, communal services, public education agencies and other services under the soviets of people's deputies. And, in as much as no one was in charge, the party organizations had to assume responsibility for building haylage shelters and silo trenches, ensuring housing and seasonal work in the countryside; procuring hay, potatoes and vegetables and their storage; cleaning the territories assigned to the housing authorities; repairing fences and premises in sponsored schools

and children's institutions in the rayon; organizing the work of the voluntary people's units of militia precincts; work at vegetable bases on a year-round basis, and so on, and so forth.

Someone may object that a single party organization secretary does not have to deal with all this, that obligations could be skillfully assigned to others, and so on. This is true, the more so since he alone cannot accomplish all of this. Supervision and exigency, however, are his obligations. If he does not follow up a project he finds himself in an embarrassing situation, to say the least. So, the secretary keeps running like a hamster in its wheel but nonetheless frequently turns out the innocent victim.

Every year as many as 30 percent of secretaries in our country are replaced. Most of them had concentrated on party work exclusively. Today everything has become even more difficult. The labor collectives themselves can decide who stays and who goes. In any case, they are unwilling to keep supernumerary members.

Unquestionably, this is right. But here is a problem: the shop's party organization has more than 120 members. The party buro secretary is the senior foreman in the production sector. How can he actually carry out this entire load of party work that I enumerated and, above all, without harming the production process? We are convinced that there are very few people in the country who would be so talented as successfully to combine the activities of a party secretary and work in their field. Yet in our Gorkiy Motor Vehicles Plant alone there are more than 30 party organizations with a membership ranging from 100 to 150. But is the work assigned to secretaries of party organizations with less than 100 party members, such as 80, 90 or even 50 any lesser?

Nonetheless, the party statutes stipulate a full-time position for a party buro secretary for an organization numbering no less than 150 members. Therefore, our suggestion on this matter is the following:

1. Some of the funds (50 percent, let us say) collected from party dues should go to the union party fund and the remainder left at the disposal of the party raykom to pay the salaries of full-time party organization secretaries.

We believe that the time has come to review Article 55 of the CPSU statutes allowing the hiring of a full-time party secretary.

2. Through the labor collective council, the enterprise should solve the problem of paying for social work (holding two jobs) performed by secretaries of party organizations (the secretary works to promote the interests of production, for which reason it would be fair to compensate him for labor outlays out of enterprise funds as a supplement to his base salary).

The second problem:

The choice of cadres for available party positions becomes even more difficult as the wage rates and salaries of workers and employees of cost accounting enterprises are raised.

For the sake of comparison let us consider two categories of workers: engineers and senior foremen. It is from these categories that usually secretaries of shop party organizations with over 150 members are selected (full-time positions). There are nine such organizations in our association. The salary is 183 rubles. A specialist engineer or a senior foreman earns between 200 and 220 rubles. Adding bonuses to this, the disparity becomes even greater. Such ratings and wages make the position of party organization secretary unattractive. For the same reason, it has become more difficult to choose and recruit a knowledgeable person for other party positions, such as plant party committee secretary in charge of a branch, production line or administration: the salary is 220 rubles, whereas a shop chief earns 300 rubles and it is primarily from this category that party organization secretaries of production lines and plants are recruited.

Let us remember that such disparities existed in the past as well. For example, the amount of work of the deputy secretary of the automotive plant party committee and the degree of the difficulty and responsibility of this work are equal to those of the deputy director in charge of a specific function, whose salary is 400-430 rubles; the salary of the deputy secretary of the plant party committee is 240 rubles. All of this cannot fail to affect the structure and quality of the party personnel who eventually reach the rayon and city levels of heads of party or soviet authorities.

Matters are even worse when it comes to setting up and staffing the party committee apparatus (on the rayon level as well). The ideal option—selecting as instructors some of the best party organization secretaries—is invalidated for the same reason: a salary of 175 rubles can attract either women who have very little knowledge of party work or totally untrained youngsters.

That is precisely why the reasons for and sources of obstruction of restructuring should not be sought far: a worker who is unfamiliar with the nature of his work can do only what he can and, in this case, he may be able somehow to draw up a report, increase paperwork and use the telephone.... He does not know what to do in the collective, how to help the secretary to organize his work and how to upgrade the combativeness of the party organization. Needed here are able and knowledgeable workers who should be paid a higher salary.

Suggestion:

Follow Lenin's instruction: better less but better.

The third problem:

It is common knowledge that party organizations even within a single association are different in terms of the number of party members, area density, nature of the work, and so on. This calls for a differentiated approach to the salaries of full time party organization secretaries and instructors, bearing in mind the level of their training, experience, competence in production matters and personal attitude toward the work. Furthermore, it would be expedient to grant party committees with raykom status (rayon committees) the right to redistribute the salaries of full time personnel within the stipulated limits.

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### Establishing a Tradition

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[Article by Yuriy Vladimirovich Kudryavtsev, KOMMUNIST consultant]

[Text] A noticeable result in a given area of social activity can be achieved not as a result of pious wishes or general appeals but specific actions in specific areas. In many parts of the country there unquestionably is noteworthy experience in party and soviet work aimed at urban improvements, creating a proper architectural appearance of streets and squares and developing an aesthetic environment which would surround man outside his home. However, we must agree, that interesting findings and quests in many of these areas are infrequent phenomena. The current stage in restructuring has tangibly increased the value of this experience and the interest of the public in it. "There are circumstances," V.I. Lenin wrote, "in which the model organization of local work, even on the smallest scale, is of greater national importance than many sectors doing central government work." In the context of our current comprehensive concerns, these words could hardly be more relevant.

It was the quest for such experience that took us to the Lithuanian city of Shyaulayay.

### Standard of Creativity

The latest exhibit of Vilyus Puronas, the leading painter in Shyaulayay, dedicated to the past, present and future of urban design, took place under the slogan "Our City is Our Home." We believe that this slogan agrees with the view held by the Shyaulayay city party committee, Lithuanian Communist Party, and the executive committee of the city soviet of people's deputies. Suffice it to walk along the streets, and study the plans of the party gorkom and the executive committee to feel that the attitude



toward the city on the part of its government and population is truly personal. Love for "one's home" has found here means of expression adequate to this lofty feeling.

Not today or yesterday but many years ago attention was paid here to the intensive development of all that we classify today as the social sphere. In the past Shyaulay was a rather dull city, not noticeable either for its landscape or buildings or architectural monuments. After the war, urgently needed housing was hastily built on vacant urban lots, consisting of unattractive 5-story homes made of silicate brick. Who cared about beauty? To this day, many such buildings may be found throughout the city, particularly in the central districts.

The restoration problems were solved by the mid-1960s. However, the local soviet and the party organization did not stop there, realizing that Shyaulay had to become a city in which people would want to live and work. It became clear that the growth of the city was by no means a question of mechanical expansion of city limits and scale of industrial output but the harmonious development of all urban structures and the creation of the possibly most favorable environment for human activities and for spiritual and professional growth. This became the driving idea in the practical work of the city soviet and the party gorkom.

Frequently the words "first" or "for the first time" accompany references to Shyaulay. For example, it was here that the first system for automated dispatcher control in the republic was installed in 1972. At first the population believed that improvements in the traffic had been due to the increased number of buses by at least 30-40 percent. The people soon found out, however, that actually the number of buses had not changed. The people of Shyaulay also initiated a step, such as eliminating the bus route along Vilnyaus, which is the town's main artery and which was totally opened to pedestrians and became a boulevard with cozy coffee shops, stores, flower beds and fountains and comfortable benches. The authors of this project were awarded the prize of the USSR Council of Ministers. Vilnyaus Street became the first pedestrian zone in the country. Another tradition was that of mass subbotniks, in which the population of Shyaulay participates in its free time. This was initiated by the deputy group from the television plant: they pledged to dedicate 8 hours of their leisure time to city improvements. In addition to purely utilitarian objectives, the urban residents set themselves educational tasks as well. The point is that the war not only destroyed the city but also dispersed its population. Today virtually everyone here is from elsewhere, and there are few natives. In other words, the roots of Shyaulay were destroyed yet a feeling of involvement with the general history of the city is simply necessary to people, even more so when the city is small. This "root system" of traditions, historical memory and community is what the city is recreating.

"The city is a live organism," V. Puronas said, "and every one of us is an inseparable particle of it. A person must feel as comfortable in the city as he is at home. The street should not repel him by the gray monotony of houses which, alas, is most frequently the case, but warm him up with the coziness and beauty of the faces of buildings, shop windows and street lights..."

In the mid-1970s Y. Lukayskas, the then first secretary of the party gorkom, and V. Kazanavichyus, the gori-polkom chairman, suggested to the specialists to consider seriously how to make Shyaulay more beautiful and more human. This project was actively endorsed by Gertruda Shumskene, the chief architect, and other enthusiasts. It was a question not simply of creating a comfortable habitat from all points of view but also of giving the city an original face, an artistic appearance, involving taste, originality and humor. The fact that virtually nothing remained of the city's historical center and that there was nothing on which to base contemporary architecture and design presented considerable difficulties. What facilitated the task, however, was that the work was not hampered by old rules. A search was launched for an original style.

The project was energetically taken up by the chief painter and the creative group he headed. There were few professional artists in the city and initially they had to rely simply on capable craftsmen. Lack of professionalism was compensated by enthusiasm and the sincere aspiration to prevent the slogan "Our City is Our Home" from remaining a meaningless statement. Graduates of the department of fine arts of the pedagogical institute defended their diploma papers on the streets and squares and in shaping the interiors of buildings. Works by Shyaulay painters, sculptors and folk art masters decorated parks and squares, enterprises, schools and administrative buildings. Today, in addition to monumental works, a modern design has been developed (modular structures) which can be changed according to developing tastes and fashions.

"In the past, with a technocratic approach to urban development," V. Puronas emphasizes, "architecture 'forced out' the artists and pushed them aside. In the course of time the shortcomings of this approach became obvious and standard construction methods were unable to correct them: however sensibly laid out, buildings, streets and squares in themselves brought little pleasure to the eyes and failed to create the necessary mood. Design was necessary in this case. Color solutions had to be found for urban areas, more windows and interiors had to be brightened, and yards and children's playgrounds had to be saturated with sculptures, so that each corner of the city would have an original design..."

Listening to the head painter, I recalled my native city and other familiar places and sadly thought of how short we still are of practicality in observing a seemingly simplest possible truth: true patriotism is inconceivable without involvement in the affairs and concerns of the



fatherland and always begins with a specific place on earth. Here, in Shyaulay, the firm rule is not to struggle for cleanliness but to sweep; not to keep talking about the usefulness of beauty but persistently to create it.

New traditions cannot be created in a vacuum or without a preservation or, more accurately, as is the case here, without recreating the historical heritage. A frequent source of inspiration for artists and architects are old books on the history of the city, old newspaper clippings, photographs and copies of archive documents. It is from these sources that they draw ideas for shaping urban streets and squares. Here is one example: in 1236, in the battle of Saul, Lithuanians crushed the forces of the Order of the Knights of the Sword. That year is considered the birthday of the city. On the occasion of its 750th anniversary, which was celebrated in 1986, the city was decorated with the gold-plated statue of a young bowman, which is the symbol of Shyaulay. This statue, which stands at the top of a 20-meter high concrete pillar, is the central element of the "Sunny Hours" Square architectural ensemble which resembles an ancient Roman amphitheater and which quickly became one of the most popular sites for the citizens.

Is it worth mentioning how needed are bold, occasionally daring ideas backed by the intelligent support of the party committee? I believe that in this respect Shyaulay has been lucky: today the party gorkom has many employees to whom the concept of "party leadership" is inseparable from the daily quest for talent and reliance on the initiative of the working people.

"In recent years," says K. Zaletskas, first secretary of the Shyaulay gorkom, Lithuanian Communist Party, "we have tried to direct the city soviet of people's deputies and its executive authorities toward implementing any interesting idea in urban shaping and improvements. Our experience has confirmed that nothing could be more harmful than fear of original and nonstandard decisions. I recall that when I was chairman of the gorispolkom, I gave my deputy a full month to consider what new projects could be carried out during the year: Study the experience of other cities and republics and, if necessary, go abroad but do not fail to suggest something useful. We are trying to establish the same approach in the gorkom. The specific aspect of urban life which will be affected by a new idea is not important: reconstruction of buildings and streets, organization of mass cultural projects or promoting bicycling. What matters is the implementation of the projects..."

The leaders of the Shyaulay party organization are convinced that the regular participation of citizens in projects involving urban improvements and in all city-wide initiatives plays a most important role in developing the contemporary standards of a socialist city and in truly rallying its citizens, promoting within them social optimism and real social activeness. It is naive to believe that the development of an urban economy takes place without problems and difficulties. What matters in this

case, however, is the attitude toward them. One could spend years idling and waiting for outside help. One could also seek and find solutions, even if it seems that everything may be against us. I believe that the position assumed by the urban authorities and the population is quite eloquently described by the fact that in the past 5-year period the working people of Shyaulay won the Red Challenge Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee for the fourth time in the all-union socialist competition as well as the republic socialist competition.

"We repeatedly, albeit not without apprehension, described our experience to the journalists," Kyastutis Vatslavovich went on to say. "As befits them, they listened sympathetically. However, they were not in a hurry to expatiate in their publications our methods and ways of solving problems. Why? To spare us: many of our decisions, of which the city today is proud, did not agree with departmental instructions and were carried out by hook or by crook, as the saying goes. This also applies to building the exhibition palace, the reconstruction of the pedestrian street and many other projects."

Numerous examples of the rejection of stereotypes and of old decisions and plans may be found in the course of the development of the city. Suffice it to say that in its time, the general plan for the development of Shyaulay had assigned to Vilnyaus Street the role of main transport artery. One could imagine how difficult it was to block this street, first by V. Kazanavichyus and, later, K. Zaletskas who, nonetheless, took the project to its successful completion!

#### Some statistics:

Within a period of 70 years the city was wrecked thrice: in 1872 it was devastated by a fire; in World War I 65 percent of the buildings were burned down during the German occupation. The Hitlerite invasion took tens of thousands of lives and destroyed 85 percent of the city buildings.

Like hundreds of other cities throughout the country, which were destroyed by the war, Shyaulay was rebuilt. Today it is the fourth largest city in the LiSSR. It is a modern industrial center with a population of 143,000.

Every year 1,000 city families move into new housing. In recent years alone a new building for the evening department of the Kaunas Polytechnical Institute imeni A. Snehkus, the Pedagogical Institute imeni K. Preykshas, a polyclinic and the surgical ward of the republic's hospital were completed; the drama theater was redesigned. The city has 22 schools, six PTU, three technical schools, 42 kindergartens and nurseries, four theaters and houses of culture, six movie theaters and 77 public libraries.

Let us now turn to the question of the mechanism for implementing the urban development plans and the experience, difficulties and long-term relations among the gorkom and gorispolkom and departments and enterprises on which the material support for the development of the social environment depends to a large and, sometimes, crucial extent.

### Addition and Multiplication

The situation which developed in our country in recent decades has been truly paradoxical: in order to do something to organize the people's recreation, to promote sports and somehow to increase the variety of the people's entertainment, sometimes one comes across the thick wall of bureaucratic stupidity or militant conservatism. The first secretary of the party gorkom quoted for our benefit the case of the small amount of foreign currency which was requested to purchase equipment for two bowling lanes at the Engineer's Club (which, incidentally, is a first-rate club in the most modern meaning of the term). A request addressed to the proper department was answered by a senior official as follows: "This request conflicts with the policy of the party and the government." No comment, as we say today. At that time, however, it was necessary to knock at many doors and to prove that the project was necessary and useful. Actually, this is an ordinary event, hundreds of which may be found in the life of any manager who cares for his work. It is also a mini-model of the Shyaulay experience: despite accomplishments a pile of difficulties and obstacles existed and still do. To get somewhere one has to walk there. Systematically, item by item, the people of Shyaulay are implementing all of their plans. They invariably answer the amazed exclamation "how can you accomplish all this?" with a calm as though carelessly tossed statement: "One must work at it." What is this? Is it a persistence which has become a national feature of the Lithuanians? Is it an international feature of practicality? One way or another, the "philosophy of action" practiced by Kyastutis Zaletskas and his like-minded supporters, is as follows: "Difficulties do not disappear by themselves. Let us surmount them."

How are relations between the gorkom and the gorispolkom and between them and enterprises and departments?

"The party committee should not try to solve all economic problems," firmly says K. Zaletskas. "There is for this purpose an ispolkom with its departments. However, you know how strong is habit, particularly in central organizations and union ministries. For no reason at all they would phone the gorkom! In their view everything must be solved there and nowhere else. To say the least, the ispolkom is not all that sorry. This habit is understandable and, alas, will be with us for some time to come. However, it must be opposed both by the ispolkom itself, which must assert its authority through action, as well as by us, at the gorkom, through proper

methods and, if you wish, a proper management style. When I get a telephone call on matters which are clearly within the competence of the city soviet, I try to explain this clearly."

Naturally, this is not to say that the party secretary does not deal with economic affairs at all. To see in such affairs their sociopolitical meaning and social significance is an important feature of the party approach to economic management. In all cases, however, solutions are sought jointly with the gorispolkom and its chairman. Such interaction may assume a variety of forms. Mainly they include meetings and talks with directors of enterprises and urban Komsomol and trade union leaders. On-site visits are paid, there are discussions with the people of the course of restructuring and on problems and difficulties, always drawing their attention to the needs of the city. As a rule, such meetings end with decisions co-authored by dozens and hundreds of people.

Another circumstance which helps to develop and maintain proper relations between party and soviet authorities in the city and to understand each other is the fact that both P. Morkunas, ispolkom chairman, and the first secretary of the city party committee have a certain amount of experience in soviet work. Before becoming first secretary, K. Zaletskas had worked for 5 years as deputy chairman and, subsequently, another 5 years as chairman of the Shyaulay gorispolkom. There is a view and, in frequent cases, a practice, that transferring party cadres to soviets and vice-versa means, above all, replacing "poor" people with "good" ones. K. Zaletskas categorically disagrees. He believes that it is extremely useful for a party secretary to be trained in soviet work and for the ispolkom manager to have party work training. This allows them to speak the same language, so to say. Incidentally, all gorkom secretaries are former ispolkom officials.

"The main feature in the work of the gorispolkom," believes Povilas Antonovich Morkunas, "is the adoption of a comprehensive approach. These are commonplace words and we do not always think of their meaning. Nothing is too petty in the development of the city. Everything matters. It is important to be able promptly to note and accurately to assess a problem and undertake its solution, weighing carefully one's possibilities. I am convinced that it is better not to make any decision at all than to make a decision without thinking it through and, subsequently, fail to implement it. This spoils everything..."

What about actual rights and prerogatives? According to the chairman, although they exist, even today, after the extremely important resolutions were passed on upgrading the role of the soviets, their practical exercise is not all that easy. It is true that some changes have taken place. The April 1986 resolution of the republic's council of ministers made it possible for the gorispolkoms to set up new departments in charge of the comprehensive

socioeconomic development of their territory. Shyaulay is heavily relying on this development. At the same time, it has begun to establish an automated management system, which will help the gorispolkom better to implement its functions of control and coordination.

In Shyaulay, as elsewhere, the solution of many topical problems is hindered by the lack of resources. Practical experience in planning the comprehensive urban development indicates that the funds directly allocated to the gorispolkoms are clearly insufficient. A great deal still depends on the position held by the enterprises and by the ministries and departments which run them. In Shyaulay they are quite numerous: there are 31 industrial enterprises under different jurisdictions, accounting for 6 percent of the republic's industrial-production potential. The city manufactures precision machine tools, television sets, mobile television stations, equipment for television studios, furniture, bicycles, knitwear, leather and shoe items, integrated systems, personal computers and many other items. The city's food industry was organized a long time ago. It may seem that to numerous ministries and departments, not to mention enterprises and their labor collectives, Shyaulay is "their own" native city. However, there still are two opposite sides: on one side, the city soviet and its ispolkom; on the other, the ministries and departments. The approach according to which sectorial and territorial interests are totally disparate has by no means been eliminated yet.

Let us consider the organization of house building on a share-participation basis (with 8,000 families waiting for their turn). Its importance was obviously underestimated by a number of union and republic ministries and departments, such as Agroprom, the USSR Ministry of Communications Equipment Industry, the LiSSR Ministry of Light Industry and others. Housing construction is sometimes simply impossible to plan, for the initial allocations were arbitrarily lowered by the ministries. Nonetheless, despite difficulties in relations with departments, 70 percent of all housing built in Shyaulay is based on the share-participation principle.

But then there is the matter of city-wide communal projects and cultural and consumer institutions. Here as well the absolute majority of ministries and departments holds an inflexible position: this is the responsibility of the local budget. Yet it is precisely the Shyaulay experience that proves that share-participation in the development of the social area greatly speeds up and streamlines urban development. However, the practical application of specific forms of such participation is slow. The city soviet and its executive committee act as petitioners, depending on the "good intentions" or "conscientiousness" of the heads of enterprises and, even more frequently, of the ministries and departments to which they are subordinated. Is this not one of the reasons for the duplication of the functions of soviets by party committees which alone can, according to an old stereotype, "apply pressure" on the departments?

Therefore, life itself triggered the need to combine funds. For the time being, however, there is no clearly defined and codified system for transferring funds or setting ceilings for material resources and construction capacities, based on the principle "from enterprise to city." This is one of the main obstacles hindering a good and necessary project.

The demand of "ensuring the harmonious development of the territory" is to this day essentially addressed to only one of the sides interested in such development. Enterprises pay heavy fines for environmental pollution but the funds go to the union budget, although the 25 July 1986 CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers decree clearly stipulates that such funds must be distributed among between the republic and local budgets. Incidentally, the ecological problem in the city is among the gravest. Payments to the local budget would substantially strengthen the city soviet. The ispolkom chairman is convinced that economics, control over the ruble is the foundation of the soviet's real power.

#### Some statistics:

Currently the urban resident averages 14.9 square meters of housing area. Housing amenities (in terms of standards) are as follows: running water, 87.3 percent; sewer lines, 87 percent; central heating, 88.5 percent; natural gas, 87.4 percent. The city has 152 retail trade enterprises, 64 of which are food stores; it has 139 public catering enterprises, 18 hospitals, polyclinics and outpatient clinics, two sports stadiums, and 129 sports grounds and covered premises. Population consumer services are met by 95 workshops and 69 receiving centers.

For the first time, the long-term plan for the city's economic and social development for the 12th 5-Year Period was drafted with the active participation of scientists and with their suggestions and recommendations. The collectives of 12 institutes of the LiSSR Academy of Sciences are in close touch with 20 enterprises, establishments and organizations in the city. The scale of joint projects is increasing with every passing year. Currently some 70 scientific and technical and other projects are being drafted jointly.

Shyaulay's specific feature is that the population itself participates in all urban affairs. This too is the result of the purposeful and considered policy of the gorkom and gorispolkom.

#### Everyone Must Participate

Democratization is the heart of restructuring. These words of M.S. Gorbachev's most aptly describe the meaning of the changes which are taking place today in our life. Democratization does not stop with the political system. It covers all forms of participation of the people in common projects and in discussing problems of

interest. In talking with the city managers and the population, we realize that in Shyaulay a great deal is being done to unite the citizens, so that everyone must become, a co-author of his city, so to say, and experience the need and requirement of his participation in its destinies. P. Morkunas expressed a thought I consider quite important: the soviet does not mean in the least the deputies alone but the entire population of the city. All that is necessary is to seek its advice.

The mechanism used by the ispolkom to determine public opinion consists of generally well-known elements: the city newspaper regularly reports on the work of the local soviet and its permanent commissions and the deputy groups of the ispolkom; it publishes the letters and suggestions of the working people; the newspaper also gave the telephone number of the ispolkom, which people could call to express their remarks and suggestions on urban development. On the eve of the sessions the text of the report of the ispolkom is published and discussed by collectives and at places of residence. The gorispolkom has set up a special service to study public opinion. We must point out that numerous suggestions are being received, which is a clear confirmation of the democratization processes occurring in the city. Understandably, not everything can be accomplished immediately. What takes priority? That which is extremely relevant and which can be done immediately. This is followed by correcting a clear injustice which harms the rights and interests of the people. Naturally, here as well efforts are made to eliminate more quickly annoying "petty matters" which spoil the mood of the citizens: for example, after building a residential microrayon, someone has "forgotten" to install in it even a single public telephone.

Let me point out that the people of Shyaulay are quite exigent in assessing the work of the city soviet. They freely criticize bureaucratism in its apparatus although the ispolkom tries, for example, closely to consider each individual claim of people waiting their turn for housing: complaints are filed on the quality of trade and the scarcity of necessary goods. The majority of such complaints are just. Let us consider the housing and communal economy: one could hardly object to the fact that this is the most important component of urban comfort, along with housing and trade. Yet, by virtue of the reasons we described, it is set in the role of a stepson. The lion's share of the funds goes into capital construction whereas engineering facilities, roads, housing repairs, schools and kindergartens have to wait a long time for their turn to come. If something is nonetheless achieved, it is only as a result of so-called sponsorship aid. And it is only a superficial view that would classify keeping the city clean a secondary problem. However, both the necessary equipment and people are insufficient to keep the city streets in a state of model cleanliness.

Incidentally, the first steps taken to involve the entire population in urban improvements and participation in

subbotniks were the efforts of the gorkom and gorispolkom somehow to compensate for the then comprehensively prevailing residual approach to the social sphere. In the course of time mass participation in improvements assumed, as we pointed out, a social and political significance of its own. What about the participation of the population in shaping the aspect of the town? It would be difficult to overestimate its significance in terms of enhancing the social pride of the people.

An engineer who has designed a street lamp, a bronze sculpture or an ad for a head of cabbage or a shoe and the worker who has cast them in metal, based on the sketch of an artist, are equally proud of their work. And equally proud are their children who, as they walk with their friends down the street, have the right to say: "This was done by my father." The citizens enthusiastically paint their houses, fences or garbage containers! How sincerely children take care of flowers in the new microrayons: everyone knows that it is they who are responsible for the flowers and not their uncles at the communal economy administration! In short, involving the population in urban improvements should not be considered a forced step or the desire to provide more varied leisure time entertainment...

The idea which was reinforced in the course of my visit to Shyaulay was that the power of the people assumes real force if based on quiet, ordinary but entirely specific projects. It strengthens in the course of care and responsibility for what surrounds the person on a daily basis. The participation of the people of Shyaulay in shaping the aspect of their city is a substantial element of socialist self-government by the people, as important as elections or the discussion of materials of the forthcoming city soviet session, a letter to a newspaper or an "idea contest."

The same objectives—democratization and embellishing the life of the citizens—are served by their participation in cultural life: choir singing, wind instrument orchestras, festivals of ancient music, discotheque programs, song and dance festivals and campaigns to promote bicycling ("Shyaulay is a city of bicycle riders," we read in a guide book) and competition for custom-made scooters, which are famous far beyond city limits. "Only Shyaulay" has the first museum of the history of photography in the country and museums of the bicycle, radio and television. Let us ask how many cities could boast also of a museum of the history of the local railroad station?... The patriotism of the people of Shyaulay is to a large extent the result of their own creativity. This noble feeling becomes the greater and stronger the better and more reliable becomes its "material" support.

Naturally, I am far from the thought of depicting Shyaulay exclusively in rose-colored hues and the mood of its population as absolutely cloudless. I repeat, as everywhere, there are plenty of problems here. Both the

gorkom and the gorispolkom have many unused possibilities. Restructuring has entered the stage of practical work. The difficulties along its way are becoming clearer and the opposition of its opponents more tangible. This cannot fail to affect the social atmosphere. I asked the gorkom first secretary about his views on this matter.

"Frankly speaking," K. Zaletskas answered, "as a whole, the difficulties are increasing. Let us consider industry. It is no secret that throughout the country the 'easy life' of many enterprises ended with the use of state inspection. In Shyaulay 50 percent of the industrial output is inspected and, in terms of this indicator, we are in a leading position in Lithuania. From the very first days of the introduction of state inspection some directors came to me to submit their resignations. I argued and persuaded them to stay on their jobs. They did, realizing that this was necessary. However, adapting to the new conditions is not easy. Naturally, production difficulties influence the situation in the labor collectives. If the volume of output at a plant drops, workers idle and wages decline. Under such circumstances, whatever one may be saying to the rank and file working person concerning the need for restructuring, his mood does not improve, for he must feed his family! The reaction becomes particularly sharp when the culprit for the failure of a production program turns out to be not the collective but, let us say, suppliers who were also prevented by the state inspection from producing faulty goods... Such painful phenomena, obviously, are difficult to avoid in the course of profound social changes."

It is true that our reality has been generous in sharp turns and unforeseen situations. Consider the following fact: in accordance with the party decisions, and the 1986 law individual labor activeness energetically developed within the city and, within a short time, assumed a surprisingly vast scale. However, as the study indicated, in frequent cases the social needs of the city proved to be unrelated to the interests of the specific participants in such activities. Thus, clothing items are shipped out to other republics where they are sold at triple the price. Naturally, the fast and not always legal enrichment of some citizens disturbs the people. The urban authorities, however, are not in a hurry to "close down" or "ban" the individual sector. In such cases, invariably Zaletskas says: "Let us think about it."

During my talk with the first secretary of the gorkom I could not refrain from asking a question which clearly does not affect me alone: what are the guarantees of the process of democratization, the components of the mechanism which would ensure continuity in the work of the gorkom and gorispolkom and the legacy of democratic traditions which have developed in this work, regardless of the personality or the mood of the leaders? Who can assure us, I asked, that Zaletskas may not be replaced by a secretary who has a liking for "power" and authoritative management methods?

"In my view, the situation which has currently developed in the city," answered Kyastutis Vatslavovich, "is that whoever may replace me or the gorispolkom chairman would be simply unable to work otherwise than by strictly observing the principles of socialist democracy and glasnost. As to the control mechanism, it is being created under our own eyes: discussion by the working people of the materials of forthcoming soviet sessions and gorkom plenums, our reports to labor collectives and many others, which have become ordinary occurrences in the post-April period. Understandably, this is merely the beginning. Unfortunately, for decades people had become accustomed to the fact that they essentially decide little. Our task is to surmount the inertia in public awareness, to learn and teach democracy and to involve the people in joint work, assigning them, as Lenin advised, initially not very 'huge' projects... (the question was timely, for slightly two months after our meeting K. Zaletskas was elected first secretary of the Vilnius city party committee, Lithuanian Communist Party. He was replaced by V. Volkovas, a native of Shyaulay, who had taken his training in both party and soviet work locally. Time will show how he will manage. Let us hope it will be in the best Shyaulay traditions).

#### Some statistics:

In 1987 84,000 Shyaulay citizens participated in urban improvements, doing work worth 862,000 rubles. The enterprises allocated for such purposes more than 700,000 rubles.

The city has 60 painters and 50 architects. The city soviet ispolkom announced a competition for the 30 best sculptures for the town and anyone who wished could participate in the selection. The submitted sculptures were exhibited in the building of the ispolkom.

The activeness of the deputies has increased. At the three sessions which were held by the soviet in 1987, they submitted 63 motions and critical remarks addressed to the ispolkom and the city organizations. In the past year 2,500 people have petitioned the city soviet on matters of improving their housing conditions, the work of the housing and communal economy, and so on.

In 1987 200 people telephoned the ispolkom in answer to the invitation to participate in discussing the theses of the accountability report of its chairman, published in the city press. All the remarks which were expressed were taken into consideration in the soviet's resolutions. In the preceding deputy term the voters had issued 12 instructions, 9 of which had been met. More than 300 people communicated with the group in charge of the study of public opinion, which was set up by the ispolkom at the beginning of 1987; 70 percent of their requests were satisfied immediately.

The new feature for 1987 was the cultural-sports micro-rayon celebrations. Amateur sports, creative and other associations have been organized at each urban enterprise, managed by the gorispolkom cultural department.

Democracy, which has become aware of its possibilities, is spreading its influence on social practice and firmly developing into a tradition, does not need thunderous slogans. Sometimes the slogan mounted on a small panel on Vilnyaus Street is sufficient: "People of Shyaulay! Everything we have, everything we dream about, depends on the conscientious work of every person." Precisely so, every person, who is as unique as his native home, city and people.

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**Army of the Revolution, Army of the People;  
Roundtable Meeting Between KOMMUNIST and  
KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL**  
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[Materials for the roundtable meeting prepared by V. Arkhipenko and O. Khlevnyuk, KOMMUNIST editorial associates, and A. Golda and Yu. Tretyakov, KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL editors]

[Text] In our country virtually everyone has been directly affected by problems of the life of the Soviet Armed Forces. The army protects the peaceful toil of the people and has a great influence on the moral climate of the society. It is a school of courage, patriotism and ideological tempering of the young generation. The nature of this school largely determines not only the individual destinies of the people but also the success of our common cause—the cause of restructuring. That is why the organizers of and participants in the meeting which took place in 1987 on the occasion of the anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy decided to use as the theme of its discussion the topical problems of the history and contemporary development of the Soviet Armed Forces.

Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, delivered the opening speech to the participants in the roundtable meeting:

We have gathered here on the eve of the great national holiday: the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy. This anniversary is a bright page in the history of our country. The entire destiny of the Soviet Armed Forces is linked to the fate of our socialist state and the struggle waged by the Soviet people for freedom and independence and for preserving and strengthening the gains of the October Revolution. The great accomplishments of its courageous defenders are written in golden letters in the heroic chronicle of the homeland.

As we know, immediately after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution world imperialism, allied with the forces of the domestic counterrevolution, launched against the young Soviet Republic a military intervention and civil war. Who could reliably defend the gains of the proletarian revolution? Only the armed working people themselves. The creation of an army of workers and peasants, capable of defeating the combined forces of the domestic and foreign counterrevolution became a question of survival. Any revolution, V.I. Lenin taught, must be able to defend itself.

The party and the people undertook the creation of a Worker-Peasant Red Army, an army of a new, socialist type. This was done under incredibly difficult circumstances. The necessary economic base for supplying the army with military ordnance, armaments, ammunition, outfitting and food was lacking. Command cadres had not been trained and there was no experience in building the new army. The tremendous fatigue of the masses, caused by the imperialist war, made itself felt. All of this had to be surmounted, experienced and seen through.

Today, as we look at the past, we are amazed at how wisely the party solved the problem of raising and strengthening the Red Army and how persistently it implemented military policy. Let us recall, for example, the fierce attacks mounted by opportunists of difference hues in the West, who shouted about a "red menace," claiming that the Soviets will create their armed forces for aggressive purposes. Was it easy for Lenin to promote unity within the Central Committee itself, in defending the principles of building a new army? Many different views and opinions were expressed, the supporters of which could not always clearly see the deployment of class forces in the country or failed to understand the nature of the military organization of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin had to withstand the tremendous pressure in his struggle even against members of the Central Committee who disputed the need for the party's political leadership of the army. It was precisely on his initiative that in December 1918 the Central Committee passed the resolution "On the Policy of the War Department," which stipulated that the party's leading role is the supreme principle in military building.

This principle was and will remain fundamental in the building of the armed forces. As history proves, it is one of the sources of their strength and invincibility.

Yes, those were hard times and the party and the country's working people invested incredible efforts but, as a result, we created an army. It was a mass army, the regular foundation of which consisted of the most conscientious workers and peasants, commanders coming from the people, and famous military leaders. In addition to those who were widely known we also include the names of those who were subject to repressions and had been deleted from history.

We created an army imbued with the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. Under the battle flags of the red regiments, fighting for a Soviet system were Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Latvians, Georgians, Armenians, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, and soldiers from many other ethnic groups in the country. This was an army cemented by central management and one-man command and conscious military discipline. It knew what it was defending and what it was fighting for.

Relying on the support of the toiling masses, the Red Army defeated the well-armed forces of the foreign intervention and the White Guards. Socialism won its first fierce battle against imperialism.

The Red Army frequently opposed the militarists who encroached on our borders. It also withstood the harsh trial of the war against fascist Germany. The Soviet Armed Forces crushed the military machine of the aggressor. In the battles with the enemy the troops displayed unparalleled courage and daring.

Our victory did not come easy. The Soviet people had to live through a great deal in that war, particularly during its first months! However, there came the long-awaited day when the rescued country and entire world could breathe freely. Surmounting all difficulties, pain and suffering, our people hammered out the victory. The people raised an entire cohort of marshals, generals and officers who commanded fronts, armies, corps, divisions, regiments, battalions, companies and platoons. It was the Soviet soldier—flesh from the flesh of the people, great toiler, courageous and loving his fatherland—who bore the main burden of the war.

The experience gained by the Soviet Armed Forces during the Great Patriotic War is truly priceless. The party teaches us to study profoundly and purposefully, and actively to apply it in military affairs. In this connection as well I would like to say something.

Of late appeals have been published in the press to eliminate the so-called "blank spots" in our history, our military history in particular. Frequently the authors of such appeals are people who are not noted for their deep knowledge of the subject. There are indeed many "blank spots" in history as, in fact, in the other sciences, caused by a variety of reasons. History could not remain unaffected by dogmatism and a circumstantial approach to the interpretation of some events. However, is this the proper view to take if, in seeking the truth the comrades concentrate exclusively on negative phenomena? They forget everything already accomplished, including the glorious and heroic deeds which are so precious to the people.

We know how complex and difficult the circumstances were during the first months of the war in the various sectors of the front and the development of the combat operations. There were bitter failures as well. Despite all this, however, even then there were victories of our arms

worthy of remembrance, which is important to popularize rather than shamefully conceal, as some authors do. Documents and files on the first period of the war speak not only of the retreat of our forces but also of the skillful and heroic actions of regiments, divisions and armies, and of actions of which today the people are proud.

Work is now beginning on the 10-volume publication of *"The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet People."* It will be authored by military commanders, historians, members of the All-Union Council of War and Labor Veterans and the Soviet Veterans Committee. We believe that this new study will enable us to reflect historically truthfully the events of the Great Patriotic War and properly to assess the heroic efforts of the people in the armed forces in the struggle against fascism, to bring to light previously unknown facts and to eliminate subjective preferences and circumstantial influences.

We believe that in this meeting as well we shall discuss how more actively to "involve" our entire military-historical heritage—models of courage and heroism displayed to the world by the Soviet troops in the last war and the objective study of the reasons for the bitter failures—in promoting the patriotic education of our young people. To us history means not only paying a due to the past but also a powerful means of shaping the high moral spirit of the Soviet people.

### Vitality of Revolutionary Traditions

#### From Letters to KOMMUNIST Editors

"The problems of a truly scientific and truthful history.... assume an ever growing and sharply relevant, I would say moral, significance" (F.G. Yevgrafov, doctor of historical sciences, CPSU member since 1926, Gorkiy).

"Could one consider as accurate a history in which, while praising the heroes of the war, bitter results are carefully concealed?" (V.A. Chudov, war veteran, Moscow).

"The experience and traditions of the Russian military developed in the course of centuries. ... The Great October Socialist Revolution.... gave birth to a new, a revolutionary conscience in the Red Army man" (V. P. Bordokin, Sarapul), "...The gravest possible shortage of historical knowledge, honest and accurate in a Leninist fashion, has had an extremely adverse effect on the perception of tens of millions of people" (G.L. Nikanorov, war veteran, Moscow).

Many such letters are among the extensive mail received by the journal. Most of the them share the idea that knowledge of the truth of history and mastery of historical experience are mandatory prerequisites for the moral health of the people and a guarantee for the irreversible and successful outcome of restructuring.



The participants in the roundtable meeting discussed some problems of the history of the Soviet Army and Navy and of raising the young generation in the spirit of historical tradition.

**G.M. Yegorov**, chairman, DOSAAF Central Committee, admiral of the fleet:

Today the experience and lessons drawn from the history of the Soviet Armed Forces help to strengthen the defense capability of our state. We must profoundly master the Leninist ideas of the high purpose of the Red Army as an army of a new type. The experience of the veterans, of those who participated in its creation, who defended the gains of socialism during the Great Patriotic War, is invaluable in educational work. I was assigned to the navy by the Komsomol. At that time the rebuilding of the navy was only beginning. All that we had left was the hardships, one could say the crumbs. However, thanks to the efforts of the party and the Soviet people, before the Great Patriotic War had started, there was a navy. At the same time, the people gained knowledge and experience. I well remember how greatly we valued competence and discipline. The most dangerous people aboard ship were those who were unfamiliar with their duties, for at sea no one can help you. To this day we must develop in the young people such qualities, a feeling of responsibility. It is inadmissible for a powerful weapon created by the people to fall to unreliable hands.

**A.V. Krushelnitskiy**, associate, Central Museum of the USSR Armed Forces, candidate of historical sciences:

I believe that today we must study more closely the experience acquired in 7 decades of struggle for strengthening discipline in our army. At the beginning of the 1920s, for example, the Red Army faced problems of a decline in discipline. The then leadership of the Revolutionary Military Council failed to take steps to correct the developing situation. The party members in the army sounded the alarm. One of them, Yu.V. Sablin, a noted military commander of the civil war period, sent to the newspaper IZVESTIYA VTsIK the article "To the Attention of the Party." In it, he proved the need to concentrate the attention of the broad party circles on life in the Red Army, to increase the party's representation in it and to take a number of urgent steps. However, the article was not published. In January 1923 E.M. Sklyanskiy, deputy chairman of the republic's Revolutionary Military Council, concluded that "no public noise should be made. It would be used against us in the West. Practical steps must be taken and each individual case, punished...."

The IZVESTIYA editors were officially informed that "...the phenomena cited by comrade Sablin are not all that frequent as may seem from reading the article." Yet this was being asserted at a time when Sklyanskiy and

L.D. Trotsky, the then chairman of the republic's Revolutionary Military Council, were receiving daily information confirming extensive disciplinary violations in the troops. Information received from local areas, such as "...of late more complaints have been filed by young Red Army men that the cooks are giving better food to the older soldiers than to them," should have made people think very hard.

The view adopted by the RVSR at that time was very similar to the situation which existed in 1919, when V.I. Lenin emphasized in his letter to S.I. Gusev that "reading carefully Sklyanskiy's letter (on the state of affairs on 15 September) and the results of reports, I realized that our RVSR are working poorly.

"It is bad tactics to reassure and be reassuring. This turns into a 'game of tranquillity.'

"Actually we have a situation of stagnation, of virtual breakdown" ("*Poln. Sobr. Soch.*" [Complete Collected Works], vol 51, pp 49-50).

By the turn of the 1930s steps had been taken to correct the situation. At that time discipline was considered above all the result of educational work. In the course of that work experienced cadres of commanders and political workers were trained. However, the death of a large number of them toward the end of the 30s seriously worsened the situation. Decree No 120 dated 16 May 1940, issued by S.K. Timoshenko, USSR People's Commissar of Defense, bluntly stated: "The experience of the war on the Karelo-Finnish theater showed most serious shortcomings in the combat training and education of the army. Military discipline was not on the necessary level...."

In 1940 we had to begin the restructuring of combat training by strengthening the basic standards of military discipline. As a whole, the method chosen was that of strict bureaucratic administration. This method failed to yield radical changes and we had to catch up while the war was already under way.

**Question:** Has access to archive documents become easier?

**A.V. Krushelnitskiy.** The procedure for access to military-historical documents of the Soviet age remains quite complex. The instructions on which it is based became obsolete a long time ago.

**P.S. Nersesyan**, instructor at the Military-Political Academy imeni V.I. Lenin, candidate of historical sciences, lieutenant colonel:

From the very beginning the Red Army was created as a multinational army, which included more than 50 ethnic groups. This faced the Communist Party with a number of difficult problems. The most important among them was that of military cadres. Party and soviet personnel



from the various national areas in the country were sent to the armed forces. A significant number of national cadres were trained at general military schools of the RKKA. At the same time, the linguistic factor and national characteristics were taken into consideration; more than 30 ethnic military training schools were opened. Ethnic military formations were set up based on the same principles as the armed forces as a whole but facilitating familiarization with the service by Red Army men from the individual national areas.

In the search for optimal ways of organizing political education and cultural work a system of specialized authorities was set up as part of the political organs of the Red Army—national sections. Great attention was paid to organizing the service and way of life of the troops in accordance with their national features. Noteworthy in this respect is the experience of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Turkestan front, headed by M.V. Frunze. During the first draft of working people of native nationalities in the Red Army in 1920, the front commander ordered that a number of steps be formulated and implemented in organizing the draft. Attention was paid to the need to take into consideration the customs of the Muslims. For example, the chief of the front's logistic supplies was asked to organize the cooking of food for the Muslims in accordance with their tastes and customs, to use rice instead of millet and to replace bread with flat cakes. This may seem like an isolated feature. However, when such isolated features affected the members of previously oppressed ethnic groups, they assumed a political nature. It was precisely this that explained the demand of the Turkestan front RVS which ordered all commanders, political workers and party members to undertake the study of one of the local languages.

**V.D. Polikarpov**, doctor of historical sciences, leading scientific associate, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of USSR History:

In the study of historical experience we frequently stop at military-technical problems, ignoring those of the moral-political foundations in the raising of the new generations. The slanted interpretation of history had a painful effect on the moral qualities of young people, the personnel in the armed forces in particular. We have begun actively to restore the good names of the heroes of the civil war, above all those among them who had been consigned to oblivion as a result of illegal repressions. Such work began as early as the 1960s but already then it was causing a great deal of difficulty because of opposition. The result was that many heroes of the civil war remained almost unknown.

**Rejoinder:** We are more familiar with Napoleon's marshals than with the heroes of the civil war.

**V.V. Solodkov**, Komsomol committee secretary, lieutenant, gunboat "Ladnyy" (Black Sea fleet):

Many young seamen are poorly familiar with the history of the country and the armed forces. They have very vague concepts of the civil war and sometimes can say absolutely nothing about it.

**V.D. Polikarpov.** So far, however, it so happens that publications about heroes of the civil war are considered "unhealthy sensations." Naturally, the appeal during the Great Patriotic War to the images of the great military commanders of the past was important. This was of great educational significance. However, the revolution gave birth to new heroes who embodied Soviet, socialist patriotism. The names of many of them were subsequently deleted from history. Even such an outstanding military leader of the Leninist school as M.V. Frunze was kept into the background for quite some time. Yet it is precisely such people who are our pride, the bearers of our socialist traditions. I believe that the Soviet troops would bear the Order of Frunze with the same feeling of pride as that of Aleksandr Nevskiy and other famous Russian military commanders.

The question of the party's military policy during the civil war remains unstudied and neglected. As in the past, many problems are interpreted in the spirit of the Short Course of History of the VKP(b). We do not openly say that Stalin was behind the "military opposition" to the Leninist war policy at the 8th Congress. He began his practical opposition to the involvement of military specialists in building a regular Red Army as early as the Tsaritsyn period, in 1918. However, his views were not supported by the Central Committee. In the 1930s, under the conditions of the cult of personality, he was able to take his "revenge." The cadres of the old military specialists were destroyed, followed by the political workers, who, as instructed by the Central Committee and Lenin, had watched over Stalin's activities in 1918-1919.

In the course of the repressions a significant share of the country's intellectual potential was destroyed. This adversely affected the combat capability of the armed forces, particularly during the first period of the Great Patriotic War. Today we must draw lessons from these tragic events honestly and on the basis of the Leninist legacy.

**G.M. Yegorov.** Perhaps it is time to put an end to all sorts of extreme views and write an objective book about Stalin. This would be of very great importance to the political and moral upbringing of the young and the armed forces.

**V.D. Polikarpov.** The suggestion of putting an end to critical considerations was heard as early as 1964-1965. Yet all of this remained closed for 20 years.

**G.M. Yegorov.** Is the question open now?

**V.D. Polikarpov.** Yes, the question is open but if once again instructions take the upper hand calling for putting an end to profound, truthful and objective studies in a bolshevik style, this sore will once again be neglected.

**S.N. Yepifantsev,** secretary, Komsomol Central Committee:

We are guided by the principle that restructuring must take place in accordance with historical experience. The foundations of relations between the army and the public organizations were laid at the same time as the creation of the Red Army. A decision was made in 1918 to introduce universal military training of the working people and, in 1923, the Regulation on Komsomol Work in the Red Army and Navy was issued. Today we have quite a number of publications dealing with a single period in our history—the 1930s and 1940s. But our roots go much deeper, back to October 1917. Historical memory either helps us to restructure ourselves or takes us into the swamp of discord and arguments.

**V.D. Polikarpov.** Truth cannot be “instilled” in the head. It must be mastered by everyone individually, in comparing various viewpoints and their interpretation. This is a very complex and delicate process. We must lead it into the right channel.

**V.N. Lobov,** first deputy chief of General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, colonel general:

Why have we all of a sudden raised a question of history? Have we forgotten our history? We sometimes think as follows: Was it not with this history that the soldier was educated and educated others? All of a sudden, now I must somehow approach this history in a new fashion. History means specific individuals and specific actions. We must make a more profound study of our history.

Not so long ago the youth television program “The Twelfth Floor” made a survey. A journalist stopped young people on the street and asked them if their grandfathers had fought during the Great Patriotic War. All of them answered in the affirmative but not a single one of them could answer where their grandfathers had fought, in what units and on what fronts, how they fought and what specifically they accomplished. In my view, this a stunning ignorance; not one of those people aged 15 or 16 had been interested in finding out. Why? For interest in the heroic past of our people is developed in us from our earliest years, from the school.

Let us together consider, for example, the interpretation of the history of our armed forces in secondary school textbooks. It is very insignificantly done. The language used in the textbooks is extremely scant and the cliches are plentiful. Yet consider the great importance of the emotional factor in teaching the history of our fatherland! In this connection, I would like to quote from the stipulations on teaching history in the military academies of the Russian army. “Our history must develop

patriotic feelings but without distorting the truth and should not enhance feelings of boastfulness.... We need pictures painted in the right colors, people in their entire magnitude, with their features, faults and virtues, **people who acted and not the figureheads.**” I believe that it is precisely thus that the famous Soviet marshals Tukhachevskiy, Yegorov, Shaposhnikov, and thousands of generals and officers of the Russian army, loyal to their patriotic duty, who took the side of the Soviet system, studied the history of the fatherland.

In my view, the system for teaching military history in our VUZs today is unsatisfactory.

**V.N. Chichko,** commander of a motorized infantry regiment, lieutenant colonel:

I am concerned about the type of publications from which we learn history. We learn 18th century history from V. Pikulya and about the 1930s, from A. Rybakov. Ten to 15 years later we radically change our assessment of a given historical personality. This is not the best way for developing a respectful attitude toward the elders, including, in the final account, toward me, as regimental commander. We need historical truth, the same truth for a long and not a short period of time.

**A.Z. Anfinogenov,** writer, Great Patriotic War, veteran:

I am just back from Perm, where I was invited by pathfinders of school No 3, who have been headed for the past 10 years by, L.V. Konyukhov, an excellent educator. The children covered the combat path of the Eighth Air Army, from Stalingrad to Prague. These children are our smallest citizens and the questions which excite them are major. They ask: Why was it that our victory, our truly great victory, was won on the Volga, at Stalingrad? Why did it happen thus? I believe that one should not fear such questions or go along with some young people who say, “Yes, we do not wish to speak about this.” We must not tolerate civic infantilism. We must face such very grave problems in order to solve them once and for all.

I am currently completing a book about the pilots of 1941 and, therefore, of 1937. You are familiar with the horrible figures: by noon on 22 June some 1,200 Soviet aircraft had been destroyed, more than 800 of them on the ground. How could this have happened? The question of the responsibility must be raised! It is no less important to restore the justice concerning the heroes who were undeservedly forgotten. I have frequently said and would like once again to use this occasion to remind us that the exploit of the legendary submariner A. Marinesko has still not been properly rewarded. I am deeply convinced that he should be granted posthumously the title of Hero of the Soviet Union.

**V.V. Kozlov,** senior instructor, political department of a large unit, psychologist, major:

It is true that we need history a great deal. I dare to assert that the young people in the army are attracted to it, to objective articles which, of late, have become increasingly numerous. The main thing is for history to be truthful and everything will fall into its right place. Perhaps it would make sense also to write a serious book on the history and traditions of the Soviet Armed Forces.

**P.S. Nersesyan.** Historical truth cannot be determined by vote. Truth is truth and it must be found. One cannot forbid the people to think. The call for assembling a group of historians and trying immediately to find all the right answers indicates precisely the same type of dogmatic approach which led to the fact that today the science of history owes to our society a heavy debt.

#### **The Restructuring of Society Means Restructuring of the Armed Forces**

"For a long time our armed forces remained....largely in a zone outside criticism.... The new political thinking demands new approaches to an important matter such as the defense of the socialist fatherland," A.N. Merkulov, Leningrad teacher, candidate of philosophical sciences, wrote to KOMMUNIST. Some opinions are sharply divergent. "...In the armed forces, in the course of restructuring the emphasis must be not on democratization but on strengthening one-man command and military discipline," believes retired Colonel A.I. Vadeyev, from Gorkiy. "Perhaps the most difficult aspect of the present situation is to realize that democratization and glasnost are needed for improving the entire situation in military collectives, and to upgrade the level of combat readiness and discipline in the armed forces," we read as though an answer to him, in the letter of Muscovite M.P. Bolshakov, retired colonel, candidate of historical sciences. Major V.Ye. Dubovich, student at the Military-Political Academy imeni V.I. Lenin, lists in a lengthy letter a number of specific suggestions on restructuring in the armed forces. He believes that the time has come to refine the obligations of some officials in the armed forces. Military serviceman N.A. Kamzeyev calls for waging a decisive struggle against favoritism in the armed forces. In his view, the problems of army life should be considered at a party Central Committee Plenum.

What should be the nature of restructuring in the armed forces? How is it developing and what is hindering it? The participants in the discussion expressed their views on these problems.

**A.D. Lizichev.** As we interpret the 70-year old history of the armed forces, it is as though we are projecting this past into the present and into the life and training of the Soviet troops. Let us look at what the contemporary army is now? Who today stands in the ranks of the defenders of the homeland?

The soldiers of the 1980s share the life of the people. Today one hears a great deal of conflicting discussion on the growing generation. I must say, however, that the overwhelming majority of our young people are good. They are loyal to the communist ideals and to our socialist values. Army service brings to light, consolidates the best feelings of the young individual. It develops a feeling of civic-mindedness, making the person purer, spiritually stronger and richer for life.

Soviet troops are in operation on Afghan land under exceptionally difficult circumstances, frequently involving risk to life. They are loyal to their oath, the spirit of internationalism and revolutionary and combat traditions. More than 60 people have been awarded the high title of Hero of the Soviet Union, and tens of thousands have been awarded orders and medals. The soldiers-internationalists in the reserve are models of peaceful toil. They become initiators of many great accomplishments and do a great deal of military-patriotic work.

And what great will-power, firmness and readiness for self-sacrifice for the interest of the people so many soldiers and officers displayed in eliminating the consequences of the Chernobyl AES accident! The daily service by the troops in Arctic latitudes and the boiling Karakums, or directly in contact with the strike groups of forces of NATO in Western Europe, in the Far East and in long ocean trips are distinguished by true heroism.

In implementing the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and subsequent Central Committee Plenums and the requirements based on the defensive nature of Soviet military doctrine, the army and navy military councils, commanders, political organs and party organizations are enhancing the vigilance of the personnel and shaping in the soldiers readiness and ability to perform their duty under the most difficult combat conditions. The Soviet Armed Forces are doing everything possible to ensure the reliable defense of the gains of socialism.

However, not everything in our army ranks is impeccable. The overall condition of the society during the period of stagnation left its mark also on the processes occurring within the armed forces.

We know how sharp and principle-minded was the assessment of negative phenomena made by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. Today the military councils, commanders and political organs have charted a firm course toward restructuring all areas of army life, above all that of upgrading the responsibility of military cadres and strengthening military discipline. A great deal is being done to eliminate nonstatutory relations. To consider them as an army creation means deliberately to simplify the problem. The young person frequently comes across violations of the standards of socialist community life, ethics in reciprocal relations, rudeness and denigration of human dignity before his military

service, in vocational school, in the technical school and even in the VUZ. Such phenomena have become widespread in army circles as well. Having set ourselves the task of ending them, we make public each such case and widely use the power of public opinion. We hold strictly accountable violators of military discipline. Recently, for example, the commanding officer and the chief of the political department of a brigade were removed from their positions and made answerable to the party for failure to take decisive measures to apply statutory order in their unit. Such was the approach and such will it remain.

The broadening democratization of social life in the armed forces, including in the life of the party organizations, is a mark of the times, and the direct result of restructuring. There has been more criticism from the lower ranks and the opinion of party and nonparty military servicemen in appointments to higher positions, assignments to training and other official transfers is being increasingly taken into consideration. We have asked that any case involving a violation by a party member—commander or political worker—be considered by the primary party organization in which he is a member.

The combativeness of the army Komsomol is increasing noticeably. We are training the Komsomol members to be responsible for the affairs of their subunit and unit and are encouraging their social activeness. The role of the social organizations, trade unions, people's control committees and groups, women's councils and councils of young officers is becoming increasingly noticeable in the life of military collectives.

However, the mental inertia and stereotypes of the past are letting themselves be felt. The custom of implementing measures and reporting on the implementation of measures for all sorts of reasons has proved to be excessively strong. The elimination of formalism and of the "gross output" approach to working with people means to see the specific individual, to be familiar with his feelings and personal concerns, and to influence his consciousness and feelings. Actually, this precisely is the meaning of the new approaches adopted in the organization of party-political work. This is the essence of the enhancement of the human factor. It is only a specific influence exerted on people, influence through action and personal example, that can yield specific educational results. We would be fully justified in saying that had there been no Seaman Zhukhray there would have been no Pavka Korchagin; there would have been no Furmanov had there been no Chapayev.

The army is a complex organism. It has its own specific problems and difficulties. It is entirely natural that now, in the period of restructuring, for society and the mass information media to be showing greater interest in it. Unfortunately, the views of some authors are superficial and the main facts are ignored in pursuit of negative

features. The main fact is that despite existing shortcomings the army was and remains a school of ideological and moral upbringing, a school of courage and skill. The young people must be raised above all on the basis of what is positive. Otherwise the 18-year old may ask himself: What do I care for, and is military service necessary? This is a sharp way of formulating the question but no other way is possible today. I have discussed this with writers and journalists. I recall meetings with Valentin Rasputin. He acknowledged that this formulation of the question was accurate. An upbringing based on heroism, on the revolutionary and combat traditions, is the pivot of all work with the current reinforcements of the defenders of the homeland.

**V.N. Chichko.** Our regiment is deployed on the northern end of the land of the soviets. Service there is hard. The main task, however, that which keeps the regiment in a state of combat readiness, is being implemented. I can say this with a feeling of full responsibility, as its commander. Based on last year's results, all deserving personnel earned their specialist rating. Our training and material facilities are not bad. Knowledge obtained in the classroom and firing range is consolidated in the course of exercise training. Particular attention is paid to the fruitful use of each learning hour, avoiding any simplification or whitewashing. In military affairs nothing is worse than embellishment. No tricks or manipulations contribute to combat training.

**A.O. Tsyplakov,** head of the military-patriotic club (Elektrostal City, Moscow Oblast):

Nonetheless, are there cases of nonstatutory interrelationships in your regiment?

**V.N. Chichko.** Unfortunately, we have not eliminated them. But, as I already pointed out, this is our common difficulty. The main thing is the good organization of the training and the service, and maintaining statutory order. This in itself creates prerequisites for uprooting negative phenomena.

I have another remark to make. We single out soldiers for dedicated service, for example, and recommend them for orders and medals. We encourage sergeants and privates by giving them short home leave. During the last school year we instituted the "Best Motorized Infantry Company" prize, which is a color television set, awarded on the basis of the results of combat and political training for the month. The prize stipulates that the two military servicemen who have achieved the best results in their military work will be given a short leave. They are named by the collective. This proved to be a good incentive for the troops. The people compete for the prize to go to their own company.

Incidentally, as to our labor incentives. Of late, for a variety of reasons, many of them have become depreciated. Obviously we must find new incentives and use

them more skillfully. Why not, for example, when someone is discharged, include in his military documents a reference on the way the private or sergeant fulfilled his military duty. We know that many people ask the commanding officers to issue references needed for enrolling in a VUZ, or working in the MVD, a shipping administration, or some other organizations. In some cases, one or two years later the commander or the political worker of the unit has been replaced and the new one is totally unfamiliar with the former soldiers. Nonetheless, they frequently issue references based on good motivation. With this kind of approach the attitude of the former servicemen toward military service is virtually ignored.

**V.V. Shakhidzhanyan**, teacher, department of journalism, Moscow State University imeni M.V. Lomonosov:

In gathering materials for an article on life in the modern army, I conducted a survey among soldiers and officers. I was able to talk with almost 200 people. The first question I asked was the following: What is your view on nonstatutory relations? Eighty-five percent gave a sharply negative answer, while the others adopted a rather unconcerned attitude toward the problem, showing no particular concern. But here is something worth noting: 60 of the 85 percent acknowledged that they themselves did not have a strictly correct attitude toward the young recruits. Their reason was that in their time they too had experienced difficulties which they were trying to spare others. Is this not a kind of chain reaction?

The second question was that of the attitude toward officers. By no means did everyone have a good opinion of his commander. This was above all because of the existence, as the respondents said, of a gap between words and actions: the demand is to live according to the regulations but they themselves violate them, albeit in petty matters. Some complained of rudeness and disrespectful attitude of superiors toward inferiors and lack of sensitivity and attention to the needs and demands of the people.

I asked: What, during your military service, did you find most objectionable? Frequently the answer was the following: The aspiration to "extirpate" from yesterday's draftee any civilian feature. I believe that this is not an entirely correct psychological approach. One officer, for example, forbid the soldiers to keep more than five letters. Why? In order to break all ties with "civilian life" faster. But what is wrong in a soldier's wanting to keep in close touch with his home?

We speak of united military collectives and creating within them a health microclimate. According to my survey, a pressing problem is that of the low standards of contacts among ethnic groups. This is partially explained by the poor knowledge of Russian by soldiers drafted from the republics of Central Asia and the Caucasus. On the other hand, frequently a so called landsmanship

develops in the subdivisions, on the basis of which nonstatutory regulations appear along with other violations of the standards of army comradeship.

Many of those surveyed admitted that during their service they had not read a single book. They also expressed their dissatisfaction with the choice of motion pictures they were shown. As a rule, they were old or unpopular films. Why not show to military personnel sharp social motion pictures which are being talked about? Let us discuss them and not lay them on shelves. The same could be said of Yu. Polyakov's story "One Hundred Days Before the Order" and other publications and periodicals which talk of army life. Incidentally, some of the respondents were quite critical in their views on the television program "I Serve the Soviet Union." The program blatantly embellishes real life in the contemporary army and virtually fails to reflect the problems which one encounters during his military service.

**V.V. Solodkov**. Indeed, the opportunity for the spiritual growth of the troops is frequently limited but not by our fault. Let us consider motion pictures about the sea. Many of them have been filmed but not all of them can be used in promoting the education of seamen. The film "A Single Sailing", which was released recently, was pointless. The motion picture "The Case of Quadrant 36-80" was the subject of ridicule. The people asked how could such films be released?

There are few good books about life in the navy. It is virtually impossible for a seaman to get hold of the works of V. Konetskiy or V. Pikul. How can navy traditions be promoted?

**V.V. Shakhidzhanyan**. My students as well have spoken of shortcomings in aesthetic upbringing and cultural and educational work.

What, in my view, are the problems to be solved? Above all, we must upgrade the level of officer training, their standards and spirituality. Greater attention must be paid to the study of the Russian language by draftees from Central Asia. Stronger ties must be established between commanders and political organs, on the one hand, and the local party and soviet authorities and men of culture, on the other.

Is criticism of the armed forces in the press improper? It is rightly said that the best way of eliminating spots from one's uniform is to clean them. I believe that articles in the press can only contribute to this, and that this should apply to the military press as well.

**P.S. Nersesyan**. Tell us, please, on the basis of what principle did you select your military servicemen for your survey?

**V.V. Shakhidzhanyan.** The choice was random. As a rule, I stopped people wearing a military uniform at railroad stations. Therefore, the data I have given here are only a basis for consideration.

**A.A. Shekhov,** private, army engineer, bearer of the medal "For Bravery:"

Naturally, there may be deviations and friction in a military collective. However, the nature of relations among soldiers is not determined by this but by unity, friendship and military comradeship. This is particularly clearly manifested in Afghanistan. I well remember my first superiors, Sergeant Ayupov and Senior Sergeant Gargalyk. It is they who taught me the difficult soldier's skills and helped me to become an engineer. They were always the first to take up difficult assignments and to protect us, the green novices.

Occasionally, efforts are made to pit soldiers against officers. Why? The work we do is one and the same. I am not afraid of big words when I say that the soldiers truly love our company commander, Captain Zayev. This is because he is an exigent and fair commander, daring in battle and a sensitive, attentive and responsive older comrade. It is largely thanks to him that a united comradesly atmosphere prevails in our collective. I must admit, however, that I do not feel the same toward all my fellow servicemen. Some of them risk their lives almost daily, taking up assignments, while others spend their entire service at headquarters, working in depots or mess halls, yet the benefits are the same for everyone. Is this fair?

**V.N. Chichko.** It is important in developing a united collective to rely on the force of public opinion, the force of glasnost. Let us consider that same story by Yu. Polyakov "One Hundred Days Before the Order." This is a sensitive and topical theme. We discussed the story in the subdivisions and then with the entire personnel at the unit's club. We also talked with the people individually. We try to develop in them proper views on the problem of nonstatutory relations, as being not an inevitable evil but a shortcoming which must be most decisively opposed. We made a survey. Here is the interesting part. To the question "How would you like for that day to be spent in the regiment," Ninety-six percent answered that they did not consider it a holiday. It was just an ordinary day and nothing else. Why then, one may ask, was it necessary artificially to raise this question? Incidentally, the soldiers themselves suggested that the last 100 days prior to discharge should be a time of shock service, and to assume the obligation within that period of time to train proper replacements.

Here is another question the study of the answers to which gives food for thought: "When was the first time that you came across the so called dedovshchina?" Thirty-seven percent answered that they had come across it in vocational school or technical school; 12

percent on the way to their place of service; 24 percent in their training subunit; and 25 percent in the regiment. These figures help us to see how better to apportion our education efforts.

Unfortunately, here and there the need for democratization of social life in the armed forces is interpreted as a fashionable slogan and nothing more. This indicates failure to realize that it serves above all the interest of the cause.

A box labeled "your wishes and suggestions" hangs at the door of our regimental headquarters. Next to it is a telephone on which any serviceman could ring me up any time. Everyone knows that every morning I read absolutely all notes and that my reaction will be immediate. Recently I received some 20 urgent communications. Each one of them was closely studied and efficient steps were taken.

We have also undertaken to solve cadre problems by taking into consideration the views of a wide circle of party members. We set up in the regiment a permanent certification commission and all problems of appointing an officer to a higher position or assignment to training are discussed jointly. Naturally, the commanding officer himself must make the final decision. Glasnost helps to avoid errors and subjectivism. We try to consider several applications and to select those who are the most deserving.

**V.N. Lobov.** Let me speak about the officers. They are the backbone of our armed forces and the bearers of their glory and traditions. I have followed many an officer's life and I dare to claim that these are people worthy of respect for in their overwhelming majority officers are highly professional people with a feeling of responsibility for assignments. They have an active life stance. They are modest, morally impeccable and firm in surmounting the hardships and privations of the service.

I believe that the word sacrifice would be pertinent in this case. Yes, the officer sacrifices a great deal. His service most frequently takes place in a remote garrison and involves constant moves. His children must change schools several times. I personally have experienced all of these hardships. Frequently what awaits an officer is either a hostel, a tiny house or a temporary apartment. He also comes across a number of ordinary discomforts, such as lack of central heating, running water once daily, and food brought in a mobile store. The officer's salary, furthermore, is not as high as some uninformed people believe.

What is it, therefore, that motivates an officer to work conscientiously, creatively and efficiently? It is love for the homeland, loyalty to the cause and to his duty. Today officers are making a great contribution to the renovation of all areas of life in the armed forces.

Unfortunately, there also are among them some who are inert, who do not contribute anything. There are incompetents, windbags and careerists. Sometimes officers are rude, tactless or openly indifferent toward their subordinates. All of this today is being harshly condemned. The collectives formulate the problem as follows: every leader must try to set a personal example by strictly observing party and military discipline and display initiative, principle-mindedness and honesty. This is properly formulated for, actually, all army and navy youth take their commanders and political workers as their example. Military practice proves that if a soldier or seaman serves under a reputable officer he himself will conscientiously perform his military duty.

Today the work of the officer has become more difficult. He can see all the shortcomings of the general education, moral and physical training of the young, when it comes to defending the fatherland. If before army service the family and society have not developed in the young industriousness, discipline and high civic qualities, the responsibility falls on those who failed to promote these qualities. A true citizen is both a good worker and a reliable soldier.

**V.V. Kozlov.** By virtue of my position, together with other officers I have to handle every 6 months novices who come to the training center. We study the documents, discuss and make our choices. What is the picture that emerges?

The general education training of the young is high and virtually all of them come with completed secondary or secondary technical training. More than 30 percent of the youngsters have worked at industrial enterprises, construction projects, sovkhozes or kolkhozes before the draft. The young generation includes members of 40 different ethnic groups. The overwhelming majority of the new recruits are Komsomol members.

The main social parameters of the new reinforcements, therefore, are not bad. It is on this basis that we proceed in our training and educational work. As a whole, judging by references from the armed forces, we are successfully training good specialists for units and sub-units.

It is true that this does not come easy. Judge for yourselves: approximately 60 percent of the youngsters come to us after vocational school. Unfortunately, however, there are legitimate complaints concerning this category of draftees. The number of people drafted from the republics of Central Asia and the Transcaucasus has increased and many of them have poor command of Russian. As many as 20 come from so-called troubled families. Some are emotionally unstable.

The officers' task is to make efficient and full use of all education tools at their disposal in order to establish a united multinational military collective. Their training

starts in military schools. It is there that they take a course in military pedagogy and psychology, with heavy emphasis on the practical side.

I shall return to the problem of making a study of the draftees and selecting them for training in one area or another. For the time being, let me say that professional selection on the level of the military commissariats is weak.

**P.S. Nersesyan.** We already mentioned that the problem of uniting a multinational military collective and establishing a standard for relations among ethnic groups is greatly hindered by poor knowledge of Russian. The following recommendation was formulated: to provide language training in the armed forces. This, actually, has been taking place for quite some time. There is a special textbook to this effect and the best trained officers are assigned to such work. Furthermore, special councils are set up, staffed by military personnel of non-Russian nationality, who are fluent in Russian and who help commanders and political workers in mass agitation work. You will agree, however, that whereas in 9 years of school a professional teacher has been unable to teach a person, the army is given 6 months in which to train him as a skilled specialist and teach him a language.

I would like to express the following wish: **KOMMUNIST** and **KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL** and many other printed organs should publish more frequently materials on the social, cultural-historical and psychological characteristics of the different national and ethnic groups in our country, their traditions, and so on. Few such publications exist.

**P.V. Statsenko,** radar company commander, captain (Moscow PVO district):

Our discussion would be incomplete if we failed to mention the conditions under which the army and navy personnel perform their difficult service. Unfortunately, few of them are familiar with the specific nature of military work. Our settlement began with tents in which we spent two winters. While we were getting organized, however, no one relieved us from the responsibility of carrying out our combat duties. I could cite dozens of examples showing that the implementation of the tasks set by the command demanded of the people total self-dedication, courage and firmness. Not once did I hear from soldiers, sergeants or officers any complaint on the hardships of the service. On the contrary, the letters I now get from discharged soldiers frequently include words of gratitude for the fact that the army taught them independence and hardened their character and willpower.

**V.V. Solodkov.** Does everyone have a clear idea on service aboard a ship?

For example, our gunboat had an assignment of several months in the Persian Gulf. You are well familiar with the situation in that area. It is extremely unstable and volatile. Every seaman had to be vigilant and ready for action. Add to this frequent storms, exhausting heat and high humidity. In short, conditions were harsh.

But then, here is what was typical: it was as though these circumstances made the people tighten up internally and disciplined them. There were no major violations of regulations, not to mention jiving. Such trips are hard on the young seamen. At first not all of them were able to endure the long hours of watch and had to be replaced. This particularly applied to boys coming from the big cities, accustomed to a comfortable life.

Nonetheless, many of the young seamen proved themselves spiritually and physically strong. Such was the case, for example, of seaman Aleksey Sitnikov. I remember a violent storm. Even some experienced specialists asked to be relieved of their duties. This seaman carried out his watch to the end, refusing to be replaced. Seamen who had served 1 year or more considered him an example.

I would like to mention something which significantly hinders our educational work with young people, particularly during the first months. The youngsters come aboard ship without any references from their school, their last job or the Komsomol. We have to start finding out about the people from scratch, which takes a great deal of time. Yet full and objective references would help us to find out a great deal about a person's character.

We tried to settle this situation and submitted requests. As a rule, Komsomol raykoms and schools direct us to the military commissariats which sends us back to Komsomol committees and schools. Therefore, nothing is settled.

I would like to ask the comrades from the Komsomol Central Committee: What does the Komsomol intend to do to improve preparing young people for military service? So far, little has been done in this area. Something else, however, is obvious: the story "One Hundred Days Before the Order" came out during the latest draft. What could the benefit of such a publication be, what could it teach the young?

Incidentally, how well are our Komsomol leaders themselves familiar with life in the army and navy? What Komsomol Central Committee has paid a visit to the Black Sea Fleet after the 20th Komsomol Congress?

**L.V. Mikhaylov**, chief, political department, Guards Tank Kantemir Division imeni Yu.V. Andropov, colonel:

I was struck by comrade Shakhidzhanyan's statement. I feel that he still has a one-sided view of life in the modern army. I invite him to visit our large unit. We

would show him the training and way of life of the troops. The history of our large unit is glorious. However, it is not known merely for its combat traditions. The present generation of Kantemir soldiers is adding to the glory of the division with its military accomplishments. Last school year 68 percent of the unit's personnel became first and second class specialists. The ranks of excellent combat and political training soldiers increased substantially.

Let us take as an example the tank regiment commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Yu. Pakhomov. This military collective is justifiably considered frontranking not only in the unit but throughout the land forces. The tank men have frequently proved their high combat training at exercises and practice firing. Last year they initiated the socialist competition in the ground forces. The regiment fulfilled its socialist pledges and was given an excellent rating. This school year it continues to be a leader in the socialist competition.

Naturally, not everything in our life is smooth. Difficulties exist as well. For example, the negative phenomena which were mentioned here have not bypassed us. We relate them, above all, to shortcomings in units and subunits in terms of the organization of training, personnel service and problems with educational work with commanding personnel and political workers. However, something else should not be ignored: occasionally we come across cases of clear lack of readiness of young people for military service. This involves lack of understanding of its significance and the feeling that somehow 2 years must be served. Physical training is also poor. Characteristically, quite frequently such young people become targets of mockery and teasing. Some are even subject to ridicule and insults.

Something else: the problem of securing housing for the officer personnel is a sore problem. Although some construction seems to be under way, the situation has hardly changed. Currently several dozen officer families in our unit are without apartments.

We are forced to build our own housing facilities. This seems to be a good way to alleviate the situation somewhat and has even become popular. Nonetheless, it means taking people away from their main job, which is combat training.

**P.V. Statsenko.** It is true that we, in the military, are frequently diverted from our direct obligations. We lose a great deal of time in construction work. This inevitably affects the quality of the training and education process.

Officers have a tremendous workload. In my view, sergeants could perform many of the jobs assigned to officers. But then, frankly speaking, officers frequently take over the sergeants' duties. Such petty supervision undermines in junior commanders confidence in their own strength and lowers their authority. But there is also another reason for the relatively low role played by



sergeants. Many of them have poor special military training. The point is that, first of all, the military commissariat frequently assign people to training subunits bureaucratically, mainly on the basis of investigations. Second, such schools do not train the personnel adequately, and the students are frequently assigned various projects instead of undergoing combat training.

### **Educating Patriots**

Of late the system of military-patriotic education and preparing young people for service in the armed forces has been the target of severe criticism. The participants in the all-union rally of young reserve soldiers, which took place in November 1987 in Ashkhabad, also criticized it in rather sharp terms. We read in their final document that "we believe that restructuring in the military-patriotic upbringing of young people and preparing them for service in the army and navy is extremely slow. This work continues to be ostentatious, boring, excessively formalized and inconsistent with the high standards of technical equipment of the armed forces. It is pursued without consideration of the interests of children and adolescents and of their initiative, creativity and independent activities."

The roundtable meeting participants discussed ways of surmounting these and other shortcomings.

**S.N. Yepifantsev.** The structure of military training was established during the initial period of the organization of our state and, as time passed, was changed only in some details. Today official training of young people for serving in the armed forces is provided above all in general education and vocational schools. It is also provided in the higher educational institutions with the help of the military affairs departments. Specialists in various branches in the armed forces are also trained by the DOSAAF organizations. The public organizations as well do a great deal in promoting the upbringing of the future military personnel.

Today, however, we can say with full justification that despite obvious advantages, this system suffers from substantial shortcomings.

Let us consider DOSAAF practices. By no means does every rayon have the possibility of training specialists.

The question of the scarcity of cadres, who must develop in the young people the skills needed for serving in the armed forces and educate them in the heroic traditions of the past, is quite pressing. In the postwar period Great Patriotic War veterans played an invaluable role in solving this problem. Very unfortunately, however, with every passing year their number is diminishing. Today help in this work is being given by young reservists, above all those who have undergone harsh combat training, particularly in fulfilling their international duty in Afghanistan. On their own initiative, many of them are participating in military-patriotic education work,

setting up, on the grass-roots level a variety of amateur associations which are very willingly joined by young people of pre-draft age. However, the voluntary efforts of internationalist soldiers conflicted for quite some time with the activities of state authorities and failed to obtain the necessary aid and support of the Komsomol.

In 1987 the Komsomol Central Committee made a serious effort to halt the negative trend developing in this matter and to make better use of the forces of this category of reservists. In order to correct the substantial shortcomings in the state system for military-patriotic upbringing, about which a great deal is being said today, we must seek ways which would actively improve such work. It is in this area that reserve soldiers could apply their forces. Their task is not to change the entire system but to help and expand it.

**A.O. Tsyplakov.** Something is already being done in this respect. Military-patriotic clubs, associations, and so on, have been established. A number of new suggestions were approved at the all-union rally of young reserve soldiers in Ashkhabad. This included the creation of all-union defense-sports camp and providing party and Komsomol members in their final year of military service training in organizing and conducting military-patriotic work among children and adolescents. Such suggestions must be considered and implemented.

**G.M. Yegorov.** I would like to discuss some matters related to the work of our defense society. We have a variety of military and technical schools and aeroclubs in which young people are being trained for army and navy service. High-level training is given in many such courses. Let us take the aeroclubs as an example. The youngsters learn to fly jet and propeller-driven aircraft, helicopters and gliders and gain the skills of flying at night and in difficult weather conditions.

The primary DOSAAF organizations have been supplied with much of the equipment needed. However, this is insufficient considering the scale of our country and, unfortunately, we must point out that about one half of the primary organizations have no facilities for organizing technical training and instruction in technical and military-applied sports.

Of late a great deal has been said and written about the poor physical conditioning of the young. This problem is being solved poorly despite the resolution on the development of mass sports. Various organizations are engaged in solving it. DOSAAF is responsible for technical and military-applied sports. Some criticism should also be addressed at the sports committee of the Ministry of Defense. In recent years it has stopped dealing with aviation and even parachuting, and sports involving motor vehicles and motorcycles. Such efforts must be developed by combining facilities with DOSAAF.

The number of young people engaged in military-technical sports is insufficient in terms of our country and armed forces. No more than 2-3 percent of the students in higher educational institutions practice military-technical sports. The others spend their time watching television or going to discotheques.

**Rejoinder:** But this too is exercise!

**G.M. Yegorov.** Those are different exercises.... Useless....

**V.N. Chichko.** Our recruits include a large number of draftees from the Central Asian Republics. Virtually all of them who come with a certificate as mechanic-driver or driver, trained in DOSAAF or vocational courses, whatever the type of equipment they may have used, are not accepted in the regiment due to the poor level of such training.

**G.M. Yegorov.** This is a problem. Staffing courses and training groups, including in the Central Asian Republics, is taking place too slowly. The military commissariats are not implementing their tasks fully. Poor attendance and a high percentage of dropouts from the training groups have been noted.

**V.Ya. Berezkin,** military instructor, Moscow Secondary School No 644:

I have worked in my school for the past 10 years. Allow me to describe its situation in terms of military-patriotic upbringing. I perfectly understand the officers present here, who express their dissatisfaction with the poor pre-draft training of our youth. We have received complaints from the armed forces. Why? Because education in the school is extremely poor and this especially applies to military-patriotic training. I am not a skeptic and do not wish to depict the situation in dark colors. Unfortunately, this is the truth.

Let us consider basic military training. Who directs it? The Ministry of Defense has an entire administration for this purpose. It entrusts the military commissariats with this work. Yet the commissariats frequently lack suitable contacts with the schools. Who else should guide us? The Ministry of Education, some say. However, that ministry has no time for this. DOSAAF believes that it has its own training processes and problems and has no time to deal with the schools. Therefore, our organizers are like the story of the notorious seven wet nurses nursing blind children. Extracurricular work is currently taking place within the framework of the youth army movement. We have games such as "Orlenok," "Zarnitsa" and "Gaydarovets." They are directed by the Komsomol Central Committee. However, on the grass-roots level few people take such games seriously. I can see this in my own rayon.

There is no system for either management or control. That is why people such as myself, retired officers, who have been assigned such work, are left to our own devices and every one of us does as best he can.

**A. Zhukov,** commander of the youth army battalion for the Orlenok military-sports game (student at Moscow Secondary School No 644):

Insufficient attention is being paid to the youth army movement. Our problems should be discussed more extensively in the press. Perhaps a special journal should be published for the youth army. For the time being, our material facilities are poor and we need the help of DOSAAF.

**A.Ye. Kurasov,** first secretary of the Bryansk CPSU Gorkom:

I agree with the military instructor who said here that we have a number of organizations engaged in the military training of young people without anyone being specifically in charge of the quality of such training. Someone should coordinate and direct all such work. I believe that this is above all the job of the local party authorities.

Let me describe the situation in Bryansk. Every year the city party committee buro drafts a special plan which includes the coordinated efforts of all organizations engaged in military-patriotic upbringing, including the political workers of subunits deployed within city limits. A voluntary military-patriotic department was set up and is run by the city party committee. It is staffed by people with tremendous experience in this area. The department is headed by D.Ya. Dudnikov. There is also a Bryansk section of the War Veterans Council, which directs the work of all kinds of clubs. One such association is the young landing forces club. We also have a well-organized training of children for entering military schools. The Zvezda Club, sponsored by the garrison, has trained 500 people for enrollment in military schools over the past 10 years. The club is headed by S. Osipenko.

**L.F. Selezenev,** major general, Kiev military commissar:

I believe that training and preparation for military service should be the job not only of the military instructor but, above all, of the parents, who could teach the youngster at home how to wrap his puttees, sew up his collar and a few other things, which would make his army service easier. Thus he would not become the laughing stock of more skillful comrades and would complete his training and become a soldier faster. Teachers could also do a great deal in this respect.

**A.Z. Anfinogenov.** The shortcomings of our schools have been properly noted as the root of many difficulties. As to the armed forces, it seems to me that, as in the past, they still remain largely outside the broad influence of

the public. Naturally, this is due to the particular conditions of army life. However, the interest shown by the people in the armed forces, which are the people's pride and an object of reverence (one way or another everyone has served in the army or has some connection with the armed forces), is exceptionally high. Whatever happens in the armed forces affects every Soviet person and family most profoundly. But what kind of interest is this? Sometimes it is one of concern! I was told by a mother, with tears in her eyes: "My little one is going to the army." "So what, splendid!" "No, no, no...." "Why not?" "No, no, you do not know, you do not know...." Naturally, everyone can understand what this is all about. It is the concerned attitude of the mother for the fact that her sons must serve in the armed forces, something which is bound to concern us as well.

Here is another problem. Why is it that a young soldier awarded a combat medal does not wear it? In my view, in this case a certain devaluation has taken place. Let us frankly say that this occurred under circumstances of political irresponsibility and servility during the period of stagnation, when all of the sudden and for who knows what merits, people were awarded three or four times the title of Hero, while people who had indeed honestly done their duty, the true heroes, occasionally, did not receive any award which they had earned with their blood, life and work.

**G.M. Yegorov.** I do not wish to cast aspersions on our entire youth, for in their overwhelming majority, they are ready to go through fire and water if necessary, as the saying goes, to defend our fatherland. There have been cases of avoidance of army service. There simply exist pampered and spoiled scions of families. There have been frequent cases in which draftees try to avoid navy service by all possible means. Why? Simply because navy service takes 3 years and army service two. In the past, however, people were proud to serve in the navy.

**L.F. Selezenev.** Occasionally I am visited by parents who would ask, perhaps indirectly: "What should we do for our son to avoid military service? What would it take?" I believe that the press should pay great attention to this. There is a law. If a youngster is 18 he must serve 2 or 3 years in the armed forces. Everyone, mandatorily. If everyone realizes this there would be no unnecessary questions and the people would make serious preparations for army service.

**V.V. Kozlov.** Here we have emphasized the point that people and army are as one. Of late interest in us has increased substantially on the part of parents, local authorities and the press. I judge this by the number of letters received, both approving and disapproving. We ourselves write about our soldiers. Such correspondence is becoming increasingly stable. This includes the party obkoms in oblasts from which we receive our reinforcements.

**L.V. Mikhaylov.** No tendentious attitude should be adopted toward the armed forces. This problem must be approached comprehensively and profoundly and studied quite closely. We have many shortcomings. As a party member and political worker I must admit that we have not become accustomed to being criticized, for the in the past our shortcomings were not reflected in the press. The television program "I Serve the Soviet Union," and our army press describe essentially the positive experience. For that reason a great deal of articles and photographs seem far-fetched and unnatural. We must improve the work of the press, radio and television. They must provide good and rich data, above all aimed at the children who are preparing for military service, so that the latter may not develop a far-fetched but a true concept of the armed forces.

**S.N. Yepifantsev.** The attitude toward the armed forces also greatly depends on the way state and public organizations relate to the needs, demands and interests of those who serve and those who go into the reserve. What is the attitude of society at large toward perpetuating the memory of the dead and the needs of their families?

The question was asked here: Why is it that some young boys, who were given awards for exploits in Afghanistan, do not wear deservedly earned orders and medals? Because the order and medal they received are not simply a reward but a symbol and indication of social attention. When such attention and concern is manifested in reality in nothing but the medal itself, the boys begin to have doubts. I shall not cite examples of the bureaucratic atmosphere in which some such awards are presented, although such cases do exist. Today we are seeking new approaches. Recently such awards were ceremoniously presented in Leningrad along with awards to veterans. Today we must enhance the social status of awards.

Let us also note the question of the attention paid to the needs of internationalist soldiers. I shall not discuss benefits, for this is an old problem and its nature is clear. A broader formulation of the problem is necessary. It should be one of displaying human attention both to the veterans of the Great Patriotic War and to those who have distinguished themselves today. Many of them do not demand for themselves any of the benefits to which they are entitled. In a recent talk with soldiers-internationalists no one spoke of benefits for himself such as, for example, receiving an apartment. They spoke of their wounded comrades, of the fact that one must quite seriously discuss some problems with the Ministry of Health, for there are youngsters who have had their disability classification groundlessly amended. In short, permanent human involvement in solving the problems of these boys is necessary.

Another question is that of preserving the memory of the dead. Let me describe the operation "Kommunar" which was sponsored by Komsomol members in Sverdlovsk. They noticed that the local cemetery had been

neglected and dilapidated. Yet it contained the graves of participants in the revolution and the civil war, people who had been rehabilitated posthumously. Currently the children are putting everything in order, collecting funds and organizing a remembrance service.

**Rejoinder.** It is amazing that here and there a memorial is erected whereas in Rzhev, to this day there are unburied soldiers....

**S.N. Yepifantsev.** We do as follows: this year (we were helped by the Ministry of Defense) we worked on this matter in Smolensk Oblast. Next year we shall be working in Pskov, Novgorod, Kalinin and again Smolensk Oblast. The entire territory must be studied most thoroughly. Naturally, we shall also turn to the military for help. Currently we are completing in Smolensk Oblast the extraction of an aircraft. For 2 and one-half months, under most difficult conditions—in a muddy and swampy area—a searching detachment from the Leninskiy Rayon in Moscow has worked there, consisting of Moscow subway workers, students at Secondary School No 720 and personnel of the Moscow Military District.

What motivates them to do this? Above all, the desire to learn for themselves what happened, the aspiration to restore the good reputation of the fallen heroes and to prove that they were not forgotten, that we have a grateful memory. This is a sharpened memory which is helping us in our present matters.

#### From the Editors

**Unquestionably, the participants in the roundtable discussion could not cover all the problems related to the history and the present of the armed forces and the preparation of young people for military service. Many complex problems were only touched upon.**

The merits of the Soviet Armed Forces are universally recognized. Our army has a powerful potential, military-technical as well as moral and political. The historical experience in the development of the Soviet Armed Forces proves that it is precisely a new sociopolitical and moral content that determines the power of the Soviet Army as an army of a new type, an army of the people, an army of a socialist country.

Deeply linked with the people—who are the profound source of the power of the army and navy—military councils, commanders, political organs and party and Komsomol organizations, in close touch with the local party and soviet agencies and labor collectives, try to enhance the social activeness of military personnel and to increase their interest in conscientious service and responsibility for the security of the Soviet state.

Restructuring is under way in the army as in the country at large. Methods of leadership of the troops are being updated. The efficiency of the training and education process is being enhanced and democracy in intraparty

and all army life is being broadened. On the basis of glasnost and with the active participation of party and Komsomol organizations and all military personnel, a decisive struggle is being waged against simplification and indulgence in combat training, slackness, violations of military discipline and other negative phenomena.

The main conclusion reached by the roundtable participants is that the Soviet Armed Forces are vigilantly watching over the gains of the October Revolution and reliably protecting the peaceful toil of our people, aimed at achieving a new qualitative status in society.

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#### Survey from Space

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[Letter to the editors B. Vinogradov, professor, doctor of geographic sciences]

[Text] The system used in processing and transmitting statistical information is being improved and most modern approaches are being applied. Our country developed a long time ago technical methods which enable us drastically to upgrade the reliability of statistical information in a number of most important parameters. The proper data are regularly collected and analyzed. So far, users of such data have been few. I am referring to aerospace surveys.

As early as the 1920s Soviet scientists A.Ye. Fersman, N.G. Kell, A.Ye. Novoselskiy and others laid the scientific foundations for aerospace surveys. In 1929 the USSR established the first scientific institute for aerospace survey in the world. Unfortunately, it did not function long. Six years later the institution was closed down, its scientists were dispersed throughout the country and for decades an entire scientific area was blocked. The scientific development of aerospace methods was resumed in the 1950s and, at the beginning of the 1960s the entire country was covered through aerospace surveys; we obtained a photograph on the state of the environment for each sector of land. In 1960 and the beginning of the 1970s additional photographic information was provided from space flight apparatus. The development of a new scientific area—earth studies from outer space—began to develop.

The initial experiences in the aerospace expert evaluation of official statistics took place in 1970-1972, based on the photographs transmitted by Soyuz-9. It turned out that the actual area of arable land was substantially different from the one on record. At that time, however, this information caused no concern on the part of the

country's leadership. Subsequently, systematic experiments on ecological evaluations were conducted with the help of Soyuz, Salyut and Mir.

Aerial and space photographs immediately bring out map errors: the existence of sites (fields, clearings, etc.) not marked on the maps, and the absence of some mapped projects (timber, draining systems, etc.). A thorough on-site survey follows. The main targets of our evaluations are natural resources and their economic utilization.

As aerospace photographs indicated, the situation involving statistical data on agriculture was particularly bad. First of all, what was the actual size of the arable land? Space surveys of the Salskiye steppes in Rostov Oblast, made in 1970 and 1978, indicated that some farms had 6-10 percent more land than the maps indicated. Similar cases were subsequently found in Krasnodar Kray and Astrakhan Oblast.

The photographs showed clearly other distortions as well; we could go into an agronomist's office and note with satisfaction the state of crop rotations on the map; a photograph from space, however, would clearly show a single crop: wheat in a steppe and cotton in a desert zone. As periodically taken aerospace surveys of Kustanay and Rostov Oblasts have indicated, no less than 30 percent of the areas assigned to crop rotation were under spring wheat only. Matters with crop rotation were even worse on the irrigated areas in Central Asia. In an experimental section in Fergana Oblast, crop rotations actually accounted for less than 10 percent of the area although they should have accounted for more than 40 percent of the fields.

Concealed fields lead to inflated crop reports. Thus, yields averaging 18 quintals per hectare had been recorded in 1978 for Salskiy Rayon, Rostov Oblast. Actually, including the existence of concealed fields (10 percent) and violations of crop rotation rules (30 percent), average yields did not exceed 14 quintals per hectare. Excessive plowing increases erosion; the planting of a single crop instead of crop rotation exhausts the soil, destroys the humus, and contributes to the development of salinity and the multiplication of pests.

Disparities between actual and statistical data in pasture land were even greater than in arable land. The size of exhausted pastures in the country was much greater than reports indicated. Aerospace studies of the condition of pasture land in Chernozyemelskiy and Yashkul'skiy Rayons in Kalmykiya, which were conducted in 1983 during the flight of Soviet cosmonauts V.A. Lyakhov and A.P. Aleksandrov on board the Salyut-7 indicated that there were more than 500,000 hectares of fractured barren sandy areas on Chernyye lands, which accounted by then for more than 30 percent of the pastures (in the past sand accounted for no more than 2-3 percent). Meanwhile, on the maps used by the farms no more than 130,000

hectares were marked as sandy areas and were furthermore described as being "in the stage of consolidation" and, consequently, apparently did not require any additional consolidation and phytoreclamation efforts.

In Kalmykiya, as a result of the degradation of pastures, the largest center of man-made desertification in our country has developed. However, since statistical data on the area of shifting sands were unavailable, no steps to prevent this were being taken. Meanwhile, their area was expanding by 10 percent annually. From here the sand was blown not only as far as Rostov and Volgograd but even Moscow. The reduction in the size of pasture land turned into a severe lack of fodder and the death of many hundreds of thousands of sheep in 1987. This once-blossoming area with its rich winter pastures, which sold hay to other areas, had become a sterile desert and is currently being supplied with fodder from elsewhere.

In 1983 in that same Yashkul'skiy Rayon in Kalmykiya, as many unregistered as registered sheep were found to exist at four sites. Subsequent investigations conducted by the People's Control Committee of the Kalmyk ASSR on 24 sites revealed an even worse picture: the number of unregistered sheep in a herd occasionally exceeded that of registered by a factor of 20(!). The pasture land could not support such excessive use and had turned into barren shifting sand. Similar abuses were found in Kazakhstan.

The situation with water resources and irrigated farming is bad. In many irrigated areas the actual size of the fields is greater than statistically recorded. An expert evaluation in one of the farms in Kharabalinskiy Rayon, Astrakhan Oblast, in 1982, indicated that 12 percent of the area in rice was undeclared. A semi-legal water theft is that of drawing water from main canals by farms and individuals in some areas, presented as so-called initiative-minded irrigation, without any planning or soil reclamation substantiation. Space photographs revealed that along the Chernozyemelskiy Canal in Kalmykiya land under such "initiative-minded" irrigation accounted for no less than 50 percent of the area of "organized" irrigation. As a result, to the amazement of the reclamation workers, the water in the canal could not reach the planned levels. In Central Asia there was a different variety of figure padding in terms of irrigated farming. In a number of farms the actual size of irrigated fields was as much as 30 percent higher than the recorded figures. Concealment of irrigated land presents a particular ecological danger, for such land is not subject to soil reclamation measures, the rates of water consumption from the canal are violated and no proper drainage facilities exist. The land becomes salinized usually after 5 to 6 years. However, since there are no official statistical data on such land, exhausted as a result of water reclamation, no steps are planned to restore it.

The photographs show old defects of hydraulic reclamation projects: inoperative (and, sometimes, altogether lacking) draining systems, numerous "floodings" of irrigation waters and filtration "lakes." Thus, less than 20

percent of the actual area of filtration "lakes" are indicated on the maps in an area of up to 50 kilometers along the Karakum Canal in Turkmeniya. Such cases are so numerous that one could consider statistical data as systematically inaccurate. In our assessments, the adverse effect which hydraulic reclamation systems has on surrounding areas is reduced in official documents by 60-80 percent.

The area of secondary salinized and flooded land, which becomes unusable as a result of improper and excessive irrigation, is significantly greater than reported. For example, in the area under the influence of the Severo-Krymskiy Canal, photographs and ground hydrogeological studies conducted in 1984 revealed that it was several hundred percent broader than indicated in statistical data. Many concealed salinized soils were found in the irrigated lands of Kurgan Tyube Oblast in Tajikistan. In an effort to compensate for secondary salinized soils, lost as a result of negligence but accounting for about 20 percent of the total area under irrigation in 1983, the local authorities encroach on the reservation lands of the Tigrovaya dry river bed. According to our data, in recent years an area equal to that of the newly irrigated land has been salinized and flooded as a result of irrigation.

The actual situation with timber resources is also substantially different from accountability reports. Space photographs show cuttings not indicated on timber maps. In 1982 the area of timber damaged by fire in the Baykal area proved to be double than what was reported. Substantial inaccuracies are found in statistical figures on reforestation and forest reclamation which, as a rule, are being padded. No trees had been planted on hundreds of hectares marked as reforested in the Sinegorsk forestry administration in the Urals and in the Kanimekhskiy timber farm in Kyzylkum.

Substantial areas are being condemned for purposes of construction and mineral extraction. For example, the area of damaged land around the oil wells, even in the Predkavkazye territory, turned out to be wider by a factor of 2.5-3 compared to regulations. Such violations are clearly visible on photographs from space, which could be used as "photographic exhibits in the prosecution of land spoilers.

In order to avoid the impression that aerospace surveys are used exclusively for the purpose of proving statistical data, let me cite another example as well: in checking the timber and land maps in Utenskiy Rayon, in Lithuania, differences between the actual and statistical data were smaller than indicated in precise surveys.

Disparities between official data and the actual situation are the result of numerous factors, such as the poor cartographic base used in mapping natural resources, the infrequent updating of maps, errors related to inaccurate summation of data as they work their way upward from the farms to the State Statistical Committee, etc.

The main reason, however, is the fact that departments distort the information. This is frequently the result of concealing the predatory use of resources, blunders on the part of the local leadership, planning errors and, sometimes, simple theft. There have also been cases of distorting statistical figures with a view to concealing resources for purposes of their "unplanned" utilization.

A considerable percentage of statistical data obtained through usual methods fail to provide precise information in planning the development of the national economy. In some areas errors are in the tens and hundreds of percentile figures. Current aerospace surveys are needed to determine the reason for statistical inaccuracies. It is difficult to plan if, for example, according to some data the area of protective forest strips in the country totaled 2.5 million hectares at the start of the 1980s, while the data of the head institute in charge of agricultural and timber reclamation showed double that figure, as in the case of the struggle against soil erosion in which the area of eroded soil, according to research data, could be between 200 and 345 million hectares.

The most important prerequisite for efficient aerospace surveys is glasnost, the openness of information, both departmental and union-wide. Progress in the area of efficient expert evaluations is hindered by departmental restrictions imposed on access to aerial survey materials and space photographs. Another hindrance in conducting such evaluations is restricting access to departmental information on plans related to the appropriation of land for construction. It is very difficult to obtain departmental statistics on fires from the Goskomleskhoz, on flooded land from the Minvodkhoz, on diseases in farm crops from the Gosagroprom, etc. Today, in the atmosphere of glasnost, we must, above all, open to aerospace evaluations and extensive publication departmental data on the condition of land resources on all levels, from the farm to the State Statistical Committee which, more than anyone else, is interested in upgrading the quality of statistics.

Our country invests huge funds in nature exploitation sectors. Problems of upgrading the efficiency of their utilization and restricting the harm caused to nature as a result of economic activities are under active discussion. A choice based on unreliable information cannot be considered optimal. Yet, it is on this basis that we must determine the fate of entire areas. One can easily imagine the consequences of plans drafted regardless of the fact that today there is only desert where once there was a flourishing steppe.

Recently the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers passed a decree on measures aimed at radically improving statistics in the country. We believe that the use of aerospace expert surveys by the State Statistical Committee in checking and correcting information obtained through traditional channels will

enable us substantially to upgrade information accuracy and, therefore, the substantiation of planning on all levels. The only thing needed in this case is to look at the truth in the face.

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05003

**Are 'Transitions' Inherent in the Socialist Phase?**  
*18020009h Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Feb 88 (signed to press 4 Feb 88) pp 67-69*

[Letter to the editors by A. Gosh, doctor of economic sciences, professor, Kiev]

[Text] KOMMUNIST is engaged in the active and fruitful promotion and dissemination of the concepts of restructuring. Strangely however, occasionally it publishes materials which lack any constructive principle. Such was the case with the discussion on the matter of the periodization of the socialist history of the USSR (No 12, 1987), the participants in which, rejecting their own views, hastily engaged in creating "new ones." The same feature is characteristic of the interpretation of the socialist phase in the editorial "Dialectics of the New Thinking," which was published in the last issue of the journal for 1987. What is the intention behind this?

The journal's editors consider the following concept as substantiated: "The period of revolutionary transformation of a capitalist into a communist society (K. Marx) includes...the specific transitional period from capitalism to socialism and socialism as a whole as the entire first phase of the communist social system. Both Marx and Lenin pointed out the features of **transition**, a **transition state**, inherent in the **entire period** preceding the building of communism, considering it (the period) precisely as an integral chain of transitions, changes in transitional forms, and so on. We see here the direct instruction of approaching the developed socialist society strictly dialectically, of considering each one of its stages as a specific transition and finding within it the features of specifically transitional aspects with their inherent contradictions" (KOMMUNIST, No 18, 1987, p 4).

There is hardly any doubt that the Marxist-Leninist classics considered the "period of revolutionary transformation of capitalist into communist society" exclusively as the "strictly transitional period from capitalism to socialism," i.e., to the **first phase of the communist society**. The interpretation given by the authors of the editorial to this statement by Marx indicates their insufficiently responsible attitude toward the most essential classical concepts.

There is no doubt that Marx, Engels and Lenin described as a transitional society the special transitional period from capitalism to communism (socialism).

However, our great teachers **never** considered the transitional period from capitalism to socialism and the first phase of communist (socialism) as a single period lasting until the building of communism. In reflecting the position held by Marx and Engels, Lenin summed up the concept of the communist system as follows:

"Therefore:

"I 'long birth pains;'

"II 'first phase of the communist society;'

"III 'higher phase of the communist society;'" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," [Complete Collected Works], vol 33, p 185). The nature and historical role of the transitional period and the first phase of communism are substantially different from each other. Failure to distinguish between these social conditions and their role would be nondialectical.

The Marxist-Leninist classics did not consider socialism a "systematic chain of transitions, a change of transitional forms." They lacked the necessary data concerning socialism, and capitalism had not indicated any "chain of transitions." The real historical practices of socialism as well do not indicate any "transitional forms" nor could do so, for it is unquestionable that socialism is built on the basis of a **specific** system of economic laws (the laws of socialism), the effect of which applies to the entire duration of the socialist phase. No leaps from one system of objective laws to another can take place within the framework of socialism. Since the entire structure (the system of laws) of the economic base remains unchanged, there can be no question of transitions. The forms of implementation of economic laws, naturally, change remaining, however, within the framework of that same socialist content. Changes in the forms of the realization of the laws occur usually in such a way as not to indicate any special "transitional conditions" of society, although reflecting, on each occasion, specific changes in the development of production forces. What kind of "changes" can be confirmed by the changing forms if even an "archaic" form, such as the labor day, is still extant alongside other contemporary economic forms and is perfectly "functioning" in one of the best kolkhozes in the country.

This interpretation of the socialist phase does not take into consideration the **characteristics** of the contemporary profound restructuring of social practices in the country, based less on the **objective** course of its (the country's) development than the growth of stagnation phenomena and processes which led society to its pre-crisis condition. That is what made necessary the leap in implementing the essential features of socialism. It is obvious today that the further comprehensive development and intensification of the economic reform of the 1960s, and of all social relations with it, had they taken place, would have ensured the systematic development of our society and its radical restructuring would have



become unnecessary. Perhaps the social leap under way in the country today is by no means a common phenomenon of socialism, although similar processes are taking place in some other countries in the socialist community. Nonetheless, the interpretation of socialism in the editorial article claims that this is a general characteristic of socialism.

The authors of the article have not indicated the **constructive** side of the suggested interpretation of socialism. They claim that it ensures the "theoretical substantiation" of a further increase in the number of stages of developing socialism which, it turns out, will be numerous in the "systematic chain of transitions." After such a stipulation, all "radical" social scientists will become involved in the search for such "transitions" in the previous development of our country and in constructing a "chain" of forthcoming transitions.

There is a noteworthy haste with which, on such a high level, and without proper substantiations, summations are issued on such fundamental aspects of developing socialism. Furthermore, once again the social sciences come across the fact of a by no means comprehensive and considered study of the real process of restructuring, which is already manifesting (and no other way is possible in such a complex matter) a great deal of difficulties; instead, they present a certain apology also in the sense that they purely reject the link between the economic reform of the 1960s and restructuring today.

This interpretation of socialism triggers, finally, the latest (for the umpteenth time) reassessment by our social scientists of the history and practices of socialism. Such an interpretation of socialism would have been justified (which would also justify the rewriting of all publications related to such problems) had it been unquestionably proven or unquestionably constructive from the viewpoint of present-day practices. However, it is not constructive already now, by forcing the writing of such notes and triggering unnecessary doubts. It will not help restructuring, for it does not prove the high responsibility of those who are formulating the methodology of the concept of restructuring itself by actually revising some Marxist-Leninist truths.

I do not expect these notes to be published but I felt bound to write them. The times today are such that everyone must, to the extent of his forces, serve restructuring, including in the manner I have used.

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05003

## **Two Views on the Progress of Socialism; Editorial Note**

18020009i Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Feb 88 (signed to press 4 Feb 88) pp 69-71

[Text] What makes the preceding letter valuable is the fact that it draws attention to one of the basic problems of the theory of scientific communism: the place of

socialism in the establishment of the communist socio-economic system and, in this connection, the nature (correlation) of the functioning and development of the first phase of this system, i.e., the nature of the progress of socialism. Also useful is the fact that this problem is formulated with extreme sharpness: in the opinion of the author, the concept expressed in this journal on socialism as a society which is historically complex and which undergoes a number of qualitatively different stages and for which reason it inevitably has certain specific transitional features is erroneous and conflicts with the views of the Marxist-Leninist classics.

The formulation of this question is necessary also because in its interpretation most of our social scientists were satisfied with the very fact of asserting the establishment of the socialist system—the organization of the economy on the basis of public ownership, the creation of Soviet statehood, socialist democracy, elimination of inequality among nations and ethnic groups, friendship among the peoples, and predominance of a socialist content in the system of social relations and spiritual culture. It was silently assumed (or occasionally proclaimed) that all socialism needs were improvements in some relations or even details. Consequently, qualitatively distinct stages in the development of socialism (and, respectively, transitions between them) neither were nor could be anticipated. They simply "could not exist."

It is absolutely correct that we must not confuse the transitional period from capitalism to socialism with socialism itself. However, such is not the way the problem was formulated. Therefore, let us clarify the object of the argument itself. It is a question of the ways followed in the development of socialism and the possibility of singling out areas in its history in which socialist society faces essentially new problems and does the need for socialism to reach a new qualitative status ever arise? Or else, having been built, does socialism merely need partial improvements, and a quantitative increase in that which has already been achieved? The question could be formulated somewhat differently as well: With the victory of socialism and its economic system, do a system of social relations and a political and spiritual superstructure appear in a relatively finished aspect or are the structural elements of the socialist society—together or separately—such that they could (and should) substantially change in the course of its development and acquire new features, so that the entire building and development of socialism could be legitimately considered on this basis as a systematic sequence of stages, as transitions from one to another, higher, stage? What should be emphasized: socialism as a condition or a process? The same problem could be formulated also more briefly and directly: Are the laws of dialectics applicable to the development of socialism?

According to the logic of the author of the letter, these laws are inapplicable. In his view, the "classics of Marxism-Leninism did not consider socialism as a 'systematic



chain of transitions, or changes of transitional forms.' They lacked the necessary data concerning socialism, while capitalism had not demonstrated a 'chain of transitions'."

Particularly saddening in this case is the peremptory reference to the Marxist-Leninist classics, which do not enter into it at all. Conversely, if we speak of the study of capitalism, in their "*Communist Party Manifesto*," Marx and Engels openly stated that "the bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly creating changes in the means of production and consequently without revolutionizing production relations and, perhaps, even the totality of social relations.... Endless changes in production and the steady upheaval in all social relations and perpetual insecurity and motion are what distinguish the bourgeois age from any other" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "*Soch.*" [Works], vol 4, p 427). V.I. Lenin as well considered capitalism a "chain of transitions." The study of the imperialist stage in the development of capitalism was the foundation of the Leninist theory of the socialist revolution which, as all of us know, was entirely confirmed by historical practices. Capitalism changed subsequently as well such as, for example, under the influence of the transformation of socialism into a global system, the collapse of colonialism, the fact that dozens of new countries entered the world arena, the development of the scientific and technical revolution and other contemporary global processes.

One should not consider the statements made by Marx, Engels and Lenin on socialism as allegedly obvious arguments in favor of the interpretation of socialism only as a certain condition rather than a process. The Leninist periodization of the establishment of the communist system, set in the letter, exactly confirms that V.I. Lenin considered the socialist phase precisely as an aspect of development, as the "lower ('first') phase of the communist society, as a preliminary step leading to socialism in the strict meaning of the term (see "*Poln. Sobr. Soch.*" [Complete Collected Works], vol 33, p 187). We are familiar with Marx's and Engels' categorical warnings against developing a static view on socialism and communism: "To us communism is not a **condition** which should be established; it is not an **ideal** which reality must take into consideration. We consider communism a **real** movement which voids the current status;" "the so-called 'socialist society' is not, in my view, something given once and for all but, like any other social system, it should be considered a proof of constant change and transformation" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op cit., vol 3, p 34; vol 37, p 380). Therefore, having entered the path of socialism, we have no right, we cannot rest with this historical accomplishment. We must consider socialism not only in our practical actions but, naturally, theoretically as well, not only as a condition already attained but mainly as a process, as a **developing socialism**.

Even V.I. Lenin's brief enumeration (as a forecast) of the distinctions between the first and the second, higher, phase of the system indicates the tremendous nature of

the problems which must be solved before conditions have been created for building communism. Is it conceivable to cross this distance without accomplishing the greatest possible changes in the economic base of society, social relations, organizational methods and social consciousness and spiritual culture? Would we have the right to consider ourselves Marxists-Leninists if we ignore this problem (which was formulated in its general aspect by Marx and Lenin): if we forget the substantial difference between socialism and communism, which are the lower and higher phases of a single system, and show the way of development of socialism as a smooth evolution, paying revolutionary dialectics nothing but lip service?

The practice of recent years fully confirms the need to single out within the theory of socialism, above all, its distinct developmental aspects. Can we speak of the "immutability" of the economic basis if the structure of the national economy, the methods used in its management and the forms of organization of labor are subjected to radical restructuring? There are no grounds whatsoever to presume the "immutability" of socialist statehood if we consider the real history of Soviet democracy and if we acknowledge, not only in words, the need for democratization of society, such as the development of self-governing principles, involving in as much as is possible all citizens in the administration of the state and breaking up and defeating bureaucracy. Such processes are taking place in all areas of social life. Furthermore, if we stand on the positions of dialectics, we must acknowledge that laws do not remain immutable. As V.I. Lenin wrote in his "*Philosophical Notebooks*," "It is not only transitional and current and changing phenomena that are separated by conventional lines but also the **essence** of matters as well" (op cit., vol 29, p 227). We believe that not only because of general theoretical considerations but also as a result of paying close attention to processes occurring in our society that we cannot agree with the following assertion: "The real historical practice of socialism neither does nor could indicate even 'transitional forms'." No arguments are provided as to why not.

In this connection, the following question arises, a question which is also raised by the author of the letter: What were the reasons which led to the revolutionary restructuring in our country? Was it caused by the objective course of development of socialism or was its sole objective to eliminate the encrustations, deformations and stagnation phenomena which had developed? In other words, how to interpret restructuring itself: as correcting previous errors and "distortions" or as a radical reorganization of the social system and a legitimate stage on the way to the development of socialism?

The party answered this question. Yes, compelling and urgent needs, the requirement of taking the society out of its pre-crisis condition, were what led to the conclusion of the need for restructuring. It is clear now, however, that restructuring has also a broader sociopolitical and

historical context. It is a more profound process which encompasses virtually all areas of social life, highlighting the humanistic nature of our system, for the developing process of revolutionary restructuring does not consist exclusively of eliminating the stagnation and conservatism of the preceding period and correcting errors but also surmounting historically limited and obsolete features of social organization and work methods. Socialism must be equipped with the most advanced forms consistent with the conditions and needs of the scientific and technical revolution and the intellectual progress of Soviet society. In short, it is a relatively lengthy process of revolutionary renovation of all areas of social activities.

The fact that restructuring is a legitimate process, which is needed for the development of socialism (which, precisely, is what is being questioned in the letter) is confirmed also by the fact that the need for a radical renovation of society did not arise today or yesterday but decades ago. This is confirmed by the efforts which were made in the 1950s and 1960s to eliminate the command-bureaucratic management methods. The fact that these efforts were not based on the extensive development of democratization processes and were being implemented with the help of the old political and economic mechanism is a different matter. However, stopping restructuring and updating socialism are impossible.

Naturally, we agree with the fact that stagnation is not part of the objective laws of socialism. It appeared as a result of erroneous decisions, weakness of political will and shallow understanding of the needs and prospects of the development of socialism and, in the final account, as a result of the inability or unwillingness to identify more fully and use the possibilities of socialist progress. Socialism is incompatible with lack of initiative: the subjective factor plays an irreplaceable role in solving problems of socialist building (we are referring to the entire first phase). For that reason it is particularly important for views of socialism to remain loyal to the Marxist-Leninist dialectics and to study closely contradictions in development and see the legitimate sequence in their replacement: different, new contradictions arise as others are solved. Now, for example, the accelerated conversion from extensive to intensive development and to a new qualitative condition of society becomes a vital requirement. The "constructive aspect of the suggested interpretation of socialism" lies precisely in the fact that the new system, consistent with the spirit and the letter of Marxism, is considered not as something frozen, not subject to change, but as a perpetual "true motion," going through contradictions, and socialism itself as a steadily developing society within which, as Lenin said, a great deal would have been completed and redone, repeatedly at that.

The process of restructuring is so real today, penetrating ever more profoundly into each cell of the social organism that it has no need for any kind of superficial or

hasty defense. Restructuring requires a profound interpretation of reality as it develops, and knowledge of the truth, which is arrived at through debates, discussions and constructive doubts. In the course of this search for the truth no one is forbidden to present and, even less so, honestly and conscientiously to review one's position, even if at any given stage someone may have professed obsolete views. That is why we find hardly justified blaming scientists who try to take a new look at one problem or another, particularly those related to the periodization of our socialist history (which is mentioned at the beginning of the letter).

Marxist-Leninist science is open to creativity, debate and innovative development. Based on its key positions, one must boldly go forth, formulating new conclusions which reflect the dialectics of contemporary life.

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05003

#### **Economic Theory and Restructuring Practice; Responses and Views**

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[Text] P. Oldak, doctor of economic sciences, professor:

The importance of areas of the national economic complex, which may seem on the surface beyond the range of material production, has drastically increased in recent decades: science, education, the social area and natural factors. The boundaries of the national economy have become increasingly different from the framework of the "public production" concept. At the present time processes which require a revision of the old concepts concerning targets of economic analysis are developing. In particular, we come across phenomena of a new order: connections among problems. This applies above all to global problems: ecological, energy, raw material, food and demographic.

The increasing destruction of natural systems proves that mankind has reached one of the most critical points in its history. The pressing question now is that of a conversion from extensive use of nature (in the course of which increased output is achieved by putting an increased load on natural systems) to a balanced use (in which the growth of output takes place with minimal or even no additional load on natural systems).

Society must abandon the narrow-consumerist approach to the utilization of potential of nature and realize the need for dividing the national income into three funds: consumption, accumulation and preservation of a full living environment. The resources allocated for the new

fund should be adequate to prevent any decline in the production forces of natural complexes and to maintain normal conditions not only for the human habitat but the entire biosphere.

In the past 50 years mankind has developed into several huge economic zones. Each 15 years the amount of land put to economic use doubles and we are already approaching the absolute limit in the development of new territories. Armed with powerful equipment, man is rapidly developing polar zones and deserts and draining swamps. Tremendous harm has been caused to the tropical rain forest as well. In 25 years their area has been reduced by one-half. The destruction of 50 percent of the remaining forests could be realistically expected by the end of this century. The soil is being destroyed and at the current rate of erosion the surface layer of arable land loses an average of 7 percent of its total volume each decade. One type of living species on earth dies each 60 minutes.

Today we are beginning to realize the existence of limits of admissible changes made in the habitat, the determination of which should be based not on technical possibilities but on the requirements of preserving an overall balance among biological systems. We have advanced too far and it is time to stop and secure the restoration of the timber and land resources and leave alone territories which have not as yet become included in economic development.

It is no longer sufficient to answer the traditional economic question of how to make best possible use of available production resources. The question which directly faces the science of economics must now be formulated differently: how to reorganize the structure of the national economic complex, how to change the economic mechanism and life style in order to enhance the human factor, accelerate scientific and technical progress and assume a proper place in the system of international division of labor, while preserving the full value of natural systems and maintaining the physical and spiritual help of the country's population?

Acting as coordinators in the formulation of programs for the development of the national economy, essentially the economists have assumed the task of seeking ways of solving this problem. So far, however, not even a description of the new management problems, as applicable to the area and the country at large, has been provided. We must create both a theoretical base as well as methods for their solution. We need new cadres with adequate economic, sociological and mathematical training, and, mandatorily, high general scientific standards.

A. Rumyantsev, academician:

In his article (KOMMUNIST No 11, 1987), Ya.A. Pevzner suggests that we "do not split" political economy into "two practically unrelated parts—the political

economy of capitalism and the political economy of socialism," for "that which, from the viewpoint of the study of the exploitation, capital as such may have seemed an 'external appearance' (?), reveals, in analyzing problems of economic functioning, that efficiency assumes a leading role."

We know that socialism has its own material and social prerequisites for the socialization of production and labor on a capitalist basis. This does not mean, however, that **economically** no difference exists between capitalism and socialism and that in this case exploitation merely has an "external appearance," rather than being the essence of the capitalist production method and its laws. We know that in the conversion from capitalism to socialism one must "only" release production and labor socialization from its capitalist rapping. It is precisely this that brings to light different new essential cause and effect links in a phenomenon, i.e., in the laws which govern them and the new mechanism of their functioning.

Clearly, the author proceeds from the definition he suggests (with reference to Engels) of political economy in the broadest meaning of the term, as a "science on the laws which govern production and the exchange of vital material goods...." He does not take into consideration the fact that Engels speaks here of political economy "in the broadest possible meaning" of the term, i.e., as encompassing the entire way of development of economic management by man, from the primitive means of production to the present, or the fact that such economic management does change. On that same page Engels states that economic management itself changes "from one country to another and, in turn, within each country, from one generation to another. Political economy, therefore, cannot be one and the same for all countries and all historical ages" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 20, p 150), and that nothing would be obtained other than trite results in mixing laws which have prevailed at different ages (see Ibid., pp 150-151).

In "*Das Kapital*," Marx (who, as we know, was directly involved in the writing of "*Anti-Duhring*") pointed out that the **subject** of his study is the capitalist **method** of production and its corresponding correlation between production and trade (op cit., vol 23, p 6). V.I. Lenin noted that political economy studies not relations **within production**, but social relations among people **related to production** and correspondingly explained their inherent essential cause and effect ties (laws) controlling production and trade. A number of references to the works of the Marxist-Leninist classics on this matter could be cited but even those cited already define the subject of political economy and its tasks as a science.

According to the author, **economically** there is no difference between capitalism and socialism. However, the basic law of socialism is economically different from that of capitalism and the law of the planned and proportional development of production is unlike the laws

governing interrelationships among capitalist enterprises. Even the law of time saving becomes a **greater law** (Marx) in collective production compared with private-ownership production, and so on.

As to the training course, obviously a comparison between the capitalist use of means of production—manpower—and the socialist—is not only possible but also extremely necessary in order to highlight realities and laws. However, this does not necessitate putting capitalist with socialist political economy within the same section.

As to the terms production cost or value, let me point out that value is related to price and production cost to socially necessary outlays of abstract labor. In German Wert also means worth (which, as we know, is not the Russian equivalent of value). Lenin, who was fluent in German, used the term “cost” rather than “value” in his writings in both the 19th and 20th centuries. The contradictory unity of labor outlays and usefulness of an object is not reflected in the value but in the **commodity**, for the commodity is precisely such a unity of opposites—**consumer value and cost**.

**V. Galperin**, doctor of economic sciences:

The main difficulty in our political economy is that it has limited the range of its interest only to the study of the most general laws governing the functioning, development and change in historically defined socioeconomic systems, ignoring most topical problems such as the optimal functioning of the economy, efficiency of economic decisions, correlation between outlays and results, market and price setting and many others, classifying them as phenomena which are “on the surface of economic life.”

The current condition in political economy is largely due not only to the insufficient development of the set of scientific instruments for the solution of increasingly complex practical problems but also the economic illiteracy of many economic managers and specialists.

This situation, as Ya.A. Pevzner (KOMMUNIST No 11, 1987) accurately emphasized, cannot be corrected with the help of cosmetic repairs in the curriculums and textbooks on political economy. In order to become a real instrument of the restructuring in progress, political economy must itself and above all be restructured.

Actually, how can we demand a scientific study of the reasons and consequences of a phenomenon which has become a real calamity for the national economy, such as a science which completely excluded from the range of its interest one of the most important problems of any economy—the problem of economic balance, proclaiming it a subject of “bourgeois pseudoscience,” and describing it somewhat scornfully as “economix?” How can we study the general principles governing the optimal utilization of limited resources for the production of

a variety of commodities and services with the help of a science which does not recognize either the limited nature of resources or the possibility of comparing the usefulness of a variety of goods? Could any fruitful study of the behavior of enterprises as socialist commodity producers be useful if there is no section in political economy which could be described as theory of the socialist enterprise and which would encompass the approximately same range of problems as the “theory of companies” developed by Western economists? Could we expect recommendations on normalizing the market for consumer goods and services on the basis of the principles of distribution according to labor and social justice from a science which has found no place for the study of problems of consumer choice and behavior and reaction to changes in prices, income and marketing conditions?

Could political economy identify the nature of payments for production resources if literally until very recently any suggestion related to making such payments was considered a concession to the bourgeois apologetic “theory of production factors?”

N.G. Chernyshevskiy, whom no one has as yet dared to accuse of apologetic intentions, formulated one of the tasks of economic theory as follows: “By breaking down the product into segments consistent with the various production elements it (the science of economics—author) should look for the type of combination of such elements and parts which would yield the most advantageous practical results. The task which everyone can understand is the following: to find in detail the type of combination of production elements of a given number of production forces which would yield the most product” (N.G. Chernyshevskiy, “*Poln. Soch.*,” in 15 volumes, vol 9, Moscow, 1949, pp 461-462). “Understood by everyone...” tells a great deal. Payment for resources creates real prerequisites for solving this problem not only within the framework of economic theory but also in economic practice, at each socialist enterprise working on the basis of full cost accounting and each element of which, particularly in medium- and long-term planning, becomes a quest for the optimal combination of production factors with a view to increasing profits or cost accounting income.

The endless debate on the nature of socially necessary labor outlays as the immediate and closest base of price setting would lead us away from the search for market laws and the mechanism of supply and demand through which alone we can compare outlays and results and, on this basis, can provide an objective base for price setting, conceals the lack of a scientific theory of prices.

Various demands have been formulated concerning our political economy. Some have called for its restructuring on the basis of the fact that most contemporary works in political economy are “so to say excessively cosmopolitan,” and that “political economy is not only an international but also a national science,” since “different

nations have different views on the nature of wealth" (NASH SOVREMENNİK, No 7, 1986, p 15). We shall not ask questions as to the extent to which different sciences of political economy should coexist if we apply such views to a multinational country such as ours. Let us also not emphasize the way, at the very turn of the 19th century, Adam Smith's economic theory was proclaimed "totally unacceptable to the Germans," precisely because of its cosmopolitan nature and its neglect of the "moral element." We are talking of something else.

Our political economy suffers neither from an excess of cosmopolitanism nor of internationalism. All too long it has existed separately from the development of global economic thinking. Our specialists in the individual sciences have either borrowed or rediscovered some of the many specific results contained in the works of scientists who do not share the Marxist understanding of the laws of social development. Such results have invariably triggered a rejection on the part of political economists. Let us recall the great deal of difficulty of the nonetheless truncated "civic rights" granted to categories such as the rate of efficiency of capital investments, reduced outlays and recovery time, that so far political economists do not acknowledge maximal outlays nor maximal usefulness (efficiency), and that terms such as "cost of balance," or "cost of planned balance" are still being used as political labels. To this day political economists think in the categories of "state" and "market" socialism, ignoring the fact that under socialism there both exist a state and a market—a socialist state and a socialist market.

We are well-familiar today with the high price which our national economy paid and is paying for its hasty proclamation of genetics and cybernetics as bourgeois pseudosciences. However, we are still not realizing the cost of proclaiming as pseudoscience the study of methods for the allocation of limited resources in achieving alternate objectives.

In order to actually make political economy above all a science of economic efficiency, a science which will help us to formulate the best possible methods for estimating outlays and results and to restore its status as basic economic science, we must substantially broaden its current frame and make it open to anything valuable created in global economic thinking over the past century. Without this we cannot eliminate the mechanical division of the science into two virtually isolated parts (the political economy of capitalism and that of socialism), the preservation of which, under the conditions of the aggravated economic competition between the two systems, becomes anachronistic.

**S. Vasilyev**, candidate of economic sciences:

The restructuring of our economic theory is impossible without a critical reinterpretation of the rich theoretical potential acquired by global economic thinking. In analyzing the influence of class interests on the development

of the science of economics, we must, nonetheless, try to single out within each separate concept the rational content and real economic problems and ways of solving them. Without this even our debate with bourgeois economists becomes unconvincing. The situation in this area was difficult during the period of stagnation. Indeed, what could be done when an economic problem, "closed" to public debate in the USSR, was discussed by bourgeois economists? It became necessary either to refute well-known facts, without citing any proof, or else emphasize that facts did not correspond to the theory. Authors writing about the USSR were depicted exclusively in dark colors, and even a sympathetic attitude toward the USSR is interpreted only as a means of applying to us their unviable concepts. The situation today has changed radically. However, existing stereotypes are surmounted not without difficulty.

Under the conditions of glasnost the concealment of many negative phenomena and facts in our life becomes impossible. This makes the situation with facts even worse. In criticizing the theory of a "second economy," our specialists claim that the existence of a "shady" economy, and the stealing of socialist property are related not to the essential features of socialist ownership but to the imperfection of the mechanism of its implementation (see VOPROSY EKONOMIKI, No 11, 1986, p 107). In this case actual economic relations are replaced by an ideal model (of which Soviet critics have frequently accused foreign authors). We are studying a real economy in which such phenomena have assumed a mass and recurring and, consequently, pattern-oriented nature. We must undertake their theoretical explanation and not refer to the fact that they are inconsistent with theory.

The "method of promises" could be considered another means of debate. Its essence is to replace scientific analysis with references to a regulatory or legal document. A bourgeois author would claim that under socialism there is a diktat on the part of the supplier and that the demands of the consumer are ignored. Yes, unfortunately, this was noted, the critic would say, but now we have the Law on the State Enterprise (Association), according to which enterprises must orient their work toward the demand of the consumers and the problem will be solved within the immediate future. What is ignored in this case is that the distance separating a resolution from its practical application is huge and that many proclaimed economic changes have remained nothing but pious wishes.

By substituting the analysis of real economic problems and contradictions with some kind of ideal model of socialism borrowed from textbooks on political economy and legal regulations, many supporters of the historical-economic trend are also proclaiming, at the same time, the current economic management system as the only possible one. Pitting the "economy of real socialism" against alternate models as being utopian leads, thereby,

the actual denial (like the bourgeois authors) of a radical economic reform. Hence support for obsolete economic and legal forms and inefficient economic steps.

Thus, West German researcher N. Wein, claims that the system of departmental-administrative planning which exists in the USSR contributes to the bureaucratizing of the entire society. The comments provided by Soviet economists make it clear that economic planning in the USSR is profoundly democratic in its nature and that national economic plans are based on draft plans submitted by collectives and that the enterprises are issued only the basic indicators (see VESTNIK MGU, Economics Series, No 1, 1987, pp 63-64). This was written in 1987, when even nonspecialists knew that the main aspect of democracy in planning is the "bargaining" which takes place between enterprises and ministries concerning the size of the plan and allocation of resources and that the participation of enterprises in the formulation of plans is manifested above all in concealing reserves and submitting to superiors inaccurate information and that the bureaucratization of the economy has reached a dangerous scale.

Although many of the concepts were exposed as hopelessly obsolete after the last CPSU Central Committee Plenum, even several months before the plenum they were still appearing in the press. What is the worth of the claim that the economic problems of the USSR at the turn of the 1980s have nothing in common with the economic crisis (see *Ibid.*, p 61). The June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum openly stated that the condition reached by society and the economy was one of a pre-crisis at that time.

The normal development of economic thinking thus proves to be inverted. Usually new ideas are formulated by scientists, discussed by the public and, finally, reflected in political objectives and instruments. In terms of the history of economic theories everything is the opposite. An idea is first expressed at a party forum, then repeated unwillingly in articles in which bourgeois theories are criticized. Science plays an unenviable role!

The use by Western economists of Marx's creative legacy and, particularly, efforts at mathematical interpretation of the theory of value, trigger particular hostility. Some specialists in the critique of bourgeois economic theories can accept the reproduction system only with its two subdivisions. Introducing in their study of a third subdivision is considered unnecessary and intersectorial models fall totally outside the range of their analytical possibilities. Obviously, that is why the pioneering work done by P. Sraff and J. Rohmer in this area are considered exclusively as the latest falsification of Marxism and are not analyzed in their substance (see VOPROSY EKONOMIKI, No 9, 1987, pp 98-103). Economists who look at Marx's doctrine as a dogma grant to themselves the exclusive right to interpret Marxism. Any other interpretation (radical political economy, or Neo-Ricardianism) are considered heresy and as such must be

immediately exposed. Both in terms of content the criticism of orthodox and the neoclassical trends in bourgeois economics is less violent, for an open enemy is less dangerous than a concealed one.

In assessing unorthodox economic theories, we must take into consideration that they critically appraise the situation in the capitalist economy and are of no apologetic nature. They acknowledge the class struggle and consider it the most important factor in economic development, introducing in the economic consciousness of society elements of both classical and Marxist political economy and contributing to the rebirth of this discipline in the West. Ignoring such circumstances does not allow us to make use in the ideological struggle of both the achievements of unorthodox theories as well as the errors of the neoclassical school. Thus, after a lengthy discussion of problems of capital, the logical inconsistency of the theory of replacing and the inconsistency between the neoclassical apparatus and the production functions of real economic processes was strictly confirmed. These results were not reflected in Soviet publications. Our researchers saw in the economic concept formulated by P. Sraff exclusively its non-Marxist nature. The conclusion reached by that scientist concerning the fact that the relative prices of commodities are based on reproduction conditions remained unnoticed.

Important results were obtained in the theory of an unbalanced economy, which more accurately reflects reality compared with the neoclassical models. The study of the system of priority allocation is of interest precisely to the socialist economy. However, this theory was not given proper interpretation in Soviet economic publications.

The interpretation of the logic and the laws governing the development of the science of economics in the socialist countries is of great practical significance. The ideas of J. Kornai, the outstanding Hungarian scientist, which met with a wide response throughout the world, including in our country, were ignored. Lack of attention to the achievements of the science of economics in the socialist countries, combined with lack of information, led to the fact that the noted Polish scientist O. Lange was classified by some of our authors as a bourgeois economist (see EKONOMICHSKIYE NAUKI, No 4, 1986, pp 80-81). The noted Yugoslav economist B. Horvat was classified as either a defender or a revisionist (see VOPROSY EKONOMIKI, No 1, 1986, p 152). Indeed, his concepts are different from those generally accepted in Soviet political economy. However, the Yugoslav economic system itself is different from that of the USSR and this should not be grounds for accusations of revisionism.

The language used in many critical publications makes a strong impression. We find out from our journals that

the "masters of reaction," making use of a faulty methodology, falsify and distort the laws governing the economics of real socialism. Meanwhile, the Soviet scientists are properly rebuffing the groundless fabrications of bourgeois defenders, exposing their intrigues and speculative quests and their man-hating concepts.

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### **Socialist Future and Utopian Consciousness**

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[Article by Eduard Yakovlevich Batalov, head of sector, USSR Academy of Sciences U.S. and Canada Institute, candidate of philosophical sciences]

[Text] In 70 years of Soviet system our country was able to acquire tremendous experience in socialist reorganization. The study and summation of this experience, as that of other countries which took the path of socialism, helped to develop the theory of scientific communism and the dissemination of a Marxist-Leninist outlook. In recent years, however, it became increasingly obvious, as was noted in the party press, that many concepts of real socialism and the socialist ideal as a model, as a supreme social objective which determines the activities of individuals, widespread in Soviet society, reflect neither the true condition of this society nor the actual trends governing its development, on which this ideal is based. It became clear that these concepts bear the imprint of dogmatism, arbitrariness, simplification and meaningless hare-brained schemes... We can now clearly say that these features of our social consciousness are symptomatic of profound processes and trends within it, particularly that of the spontaneous "re-utopianized" image of socialism. In other words, we find in existing concepts on this social system views and ideas inherent in a utopian awareness, that same type of awareness which was long ago declared eliminated once and for all, but the reproduction of which, as it now becomes clear, cannot be prevented either by any proclamation of loyalty to Marxism-Leninism nor the building of socialism.

#### **I.**

For centuries the ideal of a socialist (communist) society was considered part of the utopian tradition. Despite the entire variety of concepts concerning such a society, concepts which prevailed in the "lower classes," and popular utopias, and those which matured in the heads of philosophers and artists, recreated in their writings and novels, had similar genetic features. These were concepts which triggered a feeling of contradictoriness and tragedy of social life, and difficulties in finding out about the past and the present and, even more so, in anticipating the future. These were concepts which reflected man's dissatisfaction with the existing world

and its social disorganization and the resulting aspiration radically to restructure a given society, to break with it and to move, albeit mentally, into another perfect world, from man's viewpoint. Such concepts were structured on a purely speculative basis, disregarding of the actual flow of history and without a study of the real social trends and the needs and potentials ripening within society. As G.V. Plekhanov wrote in describing the theory of Saint-Simon and his supporters, "the basic shortcoming of this theory, which it shares with all other utopian systems" is that "this ideal social system was considered from the viewpoint of its desirability by a specific group of intellectuals, rather than the viewpoint of its attitude toward the objective course of social development or the viewpoint of people's autonomy, encouraged by such development to a greater or lesser extent" (G.V. Plekhanov, "*Soch.*" [Works], vol VI, Moscow, 1924, p 14).

The utopian ideal, therefore, turned out to be the product of individual or collective imagination, an embodiment of a dream in which accidental insight was cheek by jowl with illusions, hurling the dreamer either into ages past or, perhaps, 200 or 300 years into the future or else, in general, into the kingdom of unreality.

It is precisely this break with reality, and the arbitrary speculative formulation of a social ideal (which, actually, makes it in frequent cases practically unattainable, at least under a given set of circumstances) that constitutes the specifics of the utopian approach to structuring an image of socialism (communism) and its radical difference from the approach which Marx and Engels proclaimed as scientific.

We are familiar with the basic concept which they formulated in their "*German Ideology*:" "To us communism is not a **condition** which must be established; it is not an **ideal** which must be taken into consideration by reality. What we describe as communism is a **true** movement which would destroy the present situation" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "*Soch.*," vol 3, p 34).

Marx and Engels did not reject the ideal as such but the efforts to structure it speculatively, to present it as a timeless absolute. They emphasized that a socialist ideal must be based not on abstract concepts of "justice," "truth," "goodness" and so on, but of objective trends governing social development. It was to be embodied not as a dream of paradise on earth but as sober concepts concerning the real needs which had already matured within the society and had become realized by a certain segment of this society and, at the same time, were consistent with the objective course of the historical process.

Another basic distinction between the Marxist interpretation of the socialist and the utopian ideal is that Marx, Engels and Lenin considered it not as a frozen system but



as a model, subject to constant changes and reorganizations. The ideal develops alongside social reality and the social forces which discover and shape it.

At this point we find yet another essential difference between the utopian and scientific approaches to the socialist ideal. The majority of utopians describe their imagined society to the most minute detail. Like Fourier, for example, they include in it thousands of regulations and restrictions, "estimate" in advance what would be "consistent" with socialism and what would not. Conversely, a scientific approach to shaping the socialist ideal leaves it open, assuming that it is only the live creativity of the builders of a socialist society that could give it a specific content.

Naturally, this does not mean in the least that we should understand one thing by socialism today and something else tomorrow and something else entirely different again the day after. In considering the features of the future society, Marx, Engels and Lenin invariably tried to derive them from some kind of common "root," and to single out a fixed kernel of the socialist ideal and its essential features which would constitute the essential distinction between socialism (communism) and previous systems and without which socialism cannot be. Marx, Engels and Lenin considered that the nature of socialism was embodied in the public ownership of means of production; the absence of antagonistic classes; and free labor (absence of exploitation of man by man). It is precisely these features, in their totality, that distinguish socialism from capitalism. It is obvious that all of this is still not full socialism or does not encompass the full substance of the socialist ideal. It is also clear that public ownership and the lack of antagonistic classes and free labor presume the preservation (transformed) of certain institutions, relations and guidelines which developed within the presocialist society and which store the achievements of man in various areas of activities, as well as the development of new institutions, relations, and so on, which embody and, at the same time, enrich the nature of the new system. As history teaches us, in this case the progress of socialism is accompanied not only by the appearance of more advanced production methods but also a more advanced system of social relations, and more developed forms of democracy, culture and awareness. However, no one can confidently predict the precise way which will be followed in the development of these forms and how "in general" should "overall" socialism be like.

Therefore, the socialist social ideal is a heterogeneous formation. In addition to a relatively stable "nucleus," without which there could be no socialism in general, it includes a larger number of variable features, derived from this "nucleus" and triggered by the new conditions and which, like specific forms of embodiment of essential features, become crystallized in the process of the changes which take place and could substantially vary depending on place and time.

That is why the study of socialism remains a problem which can never be solved once and for all and which becomes particularly pressing in periods of radical self-renovation of society. That is also why the question of what is "possible" under socialism and what "must not be" must also be solved specifically, within a proper context, on each separate occasion.

By classifying the features of the socialist ideal into basic and derived, we do not wish to imply in the least that the former are more important to the life of man than the latter. Specific democratic forms, the level of well-being, and the means of realization of the potential of the individual are as important to the citizens of a socialist society as public ownership of the means of production. Therefore, an assessment of the new society from the viewpoint of its development, level of maturity and position it holds in the scale of civilized systems must be reached by taking into consideration the combination of all of its features, both essential and derived. However, if we wish to understand the basic distinction which separates socialism from previous societies and draw a line beyond which our a priori views on this system assume a fictional, a utopian nature, we must separate its essential from its derived features and separate both from postulates (such as electrification and industrialization) for the embodiment of the socialist ideal at a specific stage in social development. It is precisely the lack of such demarcations and such an a priori determination of the elements of the socialist ideal as well as identifying the latter with the premises necessary for its implementation that open the way to the development of utopian models of socialism in our consciousness.

## II.

How is this manifested? It is manifested above all in the approach to shaping the concepts of real socialism and the socialist ideal. As has already been written in KOMMUNIST, instead of the study of real live socialism, preference was given to the elaboration of speculative models. Such trends became particularly noticeable in the 1970s. Actually, suffice it to turn to our scientific and textbook publications and references which set the "standard" concept of socialism to realize that socialism was ascribed as essential features which did not reflect this essence. At the same time, the "undesirable" features of reality were ignored, operating according to the principle of "this does not exist because under socialism it should not." This approach was not only tendentious but also precisely utopian, oriented toward the arbitrary structuring of an "ideal," of the "best possible" image of the society.

It is characteristic of utopian tradition to consider socialism (communism) as the opposite of capitalism: capitalism means oppression while socialism means freedom; capitalism means stubborn labor while socialism means freedom from intensive labor or even, according to Fourier, playing at work; capitalism means poverty and



socialism, abundance; capitalism means crises and socialism a crisis-free development, and so on, and all of them in their extreme manifestations.

The origin of such concepts is easily traceable. To most utopians, socialism was not the next stage in social history, created by the preceding course of social development and determined by it and carrying within it its own problems, contradictions and even conflicts, but a timeless embodiment of "goodness" which, once and for all, would destroy the universal "evil" of capitalism. The transition from capitalism to socialism itself was considered by the utopians not as the dialectical consequence—lengthy, conflicting and inconsistent—of the first but as the creation of something entirely new, a delivery from all contradictions and problems existing in capitalist society (however, as we know, which by no means mandatorily express its social nature).

We come across this kind of thinking to this day, when in our awareness virtually everything that is positive, progressive and promising in social, political and spiritual life is related to socialism and everything negative to capitalism, thus depriving both of their historical multidimensionality, converting them into flat symbols, respectively of "good" and "evil." According to this logic, virtually all negative phenomena in our lives are the "vestiges" of capitalism and its "birthmarks," and the possibility of efficient functioning under the conditions of a socialist society of mechanisms which function under capitalist conditions, even though restructured, becomes questionable for the precise reason that they had developed or are functioning within the framework of a bourgeois civilization.

History has confirmed the existence of a large number of advantages enjoyed by socialism compared to capitalism, above all on the social level, and its essential ability to solve problems which can no longer be solved on the basis of the capitalist system of social relations, and its tremendous and as yet largely unattained, unrealized and incompletely theoretically established, potential. However, that same history has given abundant proof that socialism (and communism as a whole), like previous socioeconomic systems, is a complex contradictory system which is not deprived of its inner drama. Today we know from practical experience that socialism is not "the kingdom of heaven on earth;" that the existence of a plan, for example, does not in itself automatically guarantee, as was naively assumed by the utopian socialist, a more efficient economic management; that under capitalism (as vividly illustrated by Japan) scientific and technical progress could develop faster than under socialism.

In other words, history has proved the groundlessness of the tendency, which is characteristic of utopian tradition and which is present today in our social consciousness, of a primitive interpretation of socialism, depicting it as an "unsophisticated" society which does not need a

complex system of guarantees and mechanisms for controlling human relations, based on the belief that there neither is nor could there be an ideal man.

As we know, the utopian socialists were convinced that all that it took was to shape a person with a "new consciousness," prescribe for him behavioral norms in all conceivable situations, and he would strictly do what his sense of duty, conscience and social wisdom would order him to do. In turn, they would almost automatically express the needs of society so that, in the final account, no system of coercive regulation, organizational or legal, would be needed. Such concepts were disseminated in the first years after the revolution among many Russian supporters of socialism as well. They too believed that it would be sufficient to suppress the capitalist, the landowner and the saboteur, to socialize ownership and to proclaim the great objective, and a new happy life will begin to run smoothly...

These illusions were dispersed by time. As in the past, however, concepts remain rooted in our consciousness that "that is the way" through which we should solve the problem of selection, upbringing and placement of cadres, find people who can "justify the trust of the party and the people," equipped with "energy, inflexible consistency, progressive knowledge and experience," at which point the problem of acceleration will be solved without the need for radical structural changes.

The concept of socialism as an "ingenious" and simple society largely stems from the utopian idea of the internal lack of contradiction and the "monolithic nature," and lack of conflicts and problems of such a society. It is true that on a purely formal basis the existence of contradictions under socialism has always been acknowledged by us. However, in recent years, the study of specific situations within the categories of conflicts became unpopular, to say the least. Even where conflicts clearly existed, people preferred to speak of "unsolved problems," "difficulties" (most frequently "temporary"), "inconsistencies," "lack of coincidence," etc., or, in a word, anything but not contradictions and conflicts. It appeared that under socialism there could be no events which could bring in our elements of daily life any drama, not to mention tragedy.

Even less consistent with the nature of socialism were differences, contradictions and conflicts based on ideological and political grounds. "Unlike the social awareness of antagonistic formations, which is characterized by a polarization and struggle of opposite class ideologies," claims a popular manual on scientific communism, "inherent in the socialist consciousness is an inner unity."

Given this approach, the existence of nonconformist views in society can easily be conceived as conflicting with the nature of socialism and their public expression

as a virtually antisocialist act which should be punished by law. In any case, the practices of the 1970s and beginning of 1980s frequently confirmed this approach.

Naturally, the concept of the conflict-free nature of socialist society could be used as a certain theoretical guarantee in the prevention of possible efforts to restore the Stalinist concept which prevailed several decades ago on the aggravation of the class struggle as socialism strengthens. However, a false postulate, even though brought to life by good motivations, is an unsuitable protection from false theses.

Deeply rooted in utopian tradition is the concept of socialism as a society which eliminates social boundaries, a society without a demarcated internal nature, the elements of which not only do not clash with each other in a sociopolitical confrontation but have neither private interests nor even their own identity.

We see now that here as well utopians had simplified the real picture. Naturally, under socialism the social topography becomes more uniform than in other societies. However, the elimination of antagonistic classes does not lead to a transformation of society into a uniform and colorless mass. It does eliminate in the least social differences although, we repeat, it makes them smoother in a number of respects. In a number of countries which have taken the path of socialist change efforts were made, it is true, artificially to promote social equalization. However, they failed to yield the desired results. Conversely, the solution to the crisis into which such efforts, as a rule, led society, turned out to include the implementation of reforms which intensified social differences.

All of these concepts of socialism, of abolishing social boundaries, lack of conflict, "simplicity," or "full" or "direct" opposites of capitalism and many others are links within a single chain of manifestations of a single administrative-hare-brained type of awareness, "terribly remote" from reality and science.

However, utopian concepts of socialism are not found exclusively in theory. To an even greater extent, and this is natural, it is our ordinary awareness which deals with the local, with the daily experience of individuals and groups, that is imbued with a utopian spirit.

In characterizing this awareness as a whole, let us emphasize above all that it has an inherent orientation toward a socialist (communist) ideal. The critical enthusiasm which imbues today many views expressed by Soviet citizens concerning their social life is aimed not against socialism as a system of relations but against what is conceived as a "retreat" from socialism, as its "distortion," i.e., as non-socialism. The critics of the existing order would like to have not "less" but "more" socialism. Here again there is a consensus on what we described as the "kernel" of the socialist ideal. In other

words, the public ownership of means of production, lack of antagonistic classes and free labor are considered intrinsic features of socialism.

Beyond these features, however, we can clearly see the disparity of concepts as to what is socialism and what is a "retreat" from socialism. To some "true socialism" is presented as a dynamic and decentralized society, open to initiative, enterprise and competition and, perhaps, more differentiated and more "rigid" socially. Others tend to perceive socialism rather in a spirit of egalitarianism, as a society which essentially excludes rivalry and struggle among social interests and groups supporting them, based on a strictly centralized planning, allowing minimal social differentiation.

Both concepts become apparent in a number of public opinion surveys conducted of late as well as in privately expressed views and in the numerous letters sent to newspapers, journals, the radio and the television. A number of intermediate stages may be found between the two extremes, for many people would like to combine abundance with freedom from stubborn and concentrated labor and competition with the absence of social differentiation, as well as unequal labor contribution with equal consumption, and so on.

It is obvious that some features of our ordinary concept of socialism are the result of objective social needs and trends. It is equally obvious, however, that such concepts include a great deal of something which, while expressing personal or group social ideals, is totally unsupported by real trends in the development of Soviet society but rather comes closer to the traditional popular dreams of a "socialist paradise."

How did it happen that in a society which proclaimed the principles of scientific communism as the ideology of the party and the state, utopian concepts of socialism became widespread in our daily life and theoretical awareness? What is the line separating this insurmountable "trick" of history, which seeks "revenge" for the learning of its "secrets" and errors which could have been avoided?

From the very start, the spreading of Marxism and its mastery by supporters of revolutionary movements did not occur in the least as smoothly and painlessly as some textbooks occasionally describe it. Marxist theory itself was subjected to a utopian interpretation.

In explaining the reasons for utopianizing Marxism, K. Kautskiy referred to the fact that "the human spirit is conservative and has a perennial tendency of introducing its old views in a new doctrine" (*Istoricheskiy Materializm. Sbornik Statey*) [Historical Materialism, a Collection of Articles]. Saint Petersburg, 1908, pp 101-102). However, the sociohistorical conditions for the spreading of Marxism and the implementation of the socialist ideal played an equally important role in this process. As V.I. Lenin emphasized, "The attraction of

ever new 'recruits,' and the involvement of new strata of toiling masses" in the revolutionary labor movement "must inevitably be paralleled by oscillations in theory and tactics, repetition of old errors, temporary return to obsolete views and obsolete means, etc." (*Poln. Sobr. Soch.* [Complete Collected Works], vol 20, p 65).

Something similar showed up in Russia as well. The peasant masses, which accounted for the majority of the population and had preserved as part of their culture the popular-utopian tradition of the struggle for "truth" and "justice," brought into the ranks of the revolutionaries and the builders of the new society fantastic concepts of socialism. To many revolutionary-leaning Russian intellectuals as well socialism was seen through the eyes of Fourier, Chernyshevskiy, Bellami or the Narodovoltzy... "Was it possible," V.I. Lenin said, speaking of Russia, "for a socialist revolution to start in such a country without dreamers?" (op cit., vol 43, p 60). To the dreamers, socialism was the final part of universal history, the definitive embodiment of the age-old dreams of truth, goodness and happiness.

A utopian interpretation of socialism was characteristic not only of the prerevolutionary and the first postrevolutionary years. Looking at our own past, we can see today that the building of a socialist society in Russia occurred under very contradictory circumstances. On the one hand, the objective prerequisites for a scientific approach to socialism were taking shape in the country: the growth of the working class, elimination of illiteracy, enhanced overall cultural standards of the population, development of the social sciences, the dissemination of an atheistic outlook, and so on.

At the same time, however, there were factors which favored spreading of a utopian approach to socialism on the level of mass and theoretical awareness. As was to be confirmed later by the experience of many countries, China and Cuba above all, the victorious revolution triggers in many of its participants—particularly of the kind which existed in Russia, belonging to the nonproletarian strata, a condition of euphoria, a feeling of almost total freedom from the power of the past and unlimited freedom for social creativity and an exaggerated assessment of their own forces and the plasticity of social realities.

The shaping of utopian concepts of socialism and of the ways to reach it was further assisted by the fact that learning about it took place under adverse circumstances. Collectively, the free discussions and clashes of opinions (at least within the party), the search for the laws of socialism and the related scientific analysis of the situation within the country and abroad, as practiced in the 1920s, were gradually reduced to naught. The social sciences gradually began to lose their inherent vanguard role in the study of the real trends of social development. The "true" interpretation of socialism (as of the views of the founders of scientific socialism) became Stalin's monopoly. Such interpretations assume a scholastic

nature and obey the requirements of political expediency as understood by the interpreters themselves. A deliberate idealizing of socialism takes place, aimed at solving two interrelated problems: on the one hand, to confirm the "wisdom" of the Stalinist leadership and its political course; on the other, to prove to the hostile West that the new system is superior to capitalism in terms of all social and political parameters and that the day is near when it will outstrip it, once and for all, economically and in science and technology. This was a dramatic and in some ways even tragic situation, which is frequently encountered at crucial periods in history, in which the defense of a progressive and historically justified idea has led to the defense of something which is neither progressive nor historically justified.

The 20th CPSU Congress and the time after it played an important role in socialist self-knowledge and self-correction, clearing the way for a more realistic view on things. The old methodology, however, was still firmly in the hands of theoreticians and practical workers who shaped the strategy and tactics of building a Soviet society. As a result, the old utopian illusions were replaced by new ones (let us recall the concept which was formulated a quarter of a century ago to the effect that "the present generation of Soviet people will live under communism"). As a whole, therefore, despite an overall progress in applying the laws of socialist development, the trends and the utopianizing of both real socialism and the socialist ideal remained a fact of our social consciousness.

Today, we believe, the task is, without rejecting the theoretical accomplishments of the past and without trying "to start from scratch," to study the current nature of the socialist ideal and to establish, within the context of the historical process, what is socialism as a specific systemic unity of essential and derived features and, consequently, the direction which must be followed by Soviet society. In more specific terms, we must consider an entire range of problems (the hierarchy of forms of socialist ownership, democracy, the functions of the state, the market, etc.), all of these "can" and "cannot" features which determine today the formulation of the program for our actions. We must proceed in this case not from imaginary boundaries which separate capitalism from socialism, and not from the taboos of yesterday or the day before, which reflect realities of 50 years ago, but on the basis of contemporary, scientifically established trends and requirements.

A utopian dimension, as history proves, has always been inherent in the social consciousness and culture. Contradictions in social life and the critical spirit they create are inherent in all stages of social development; there is an aspiration on the part of man to surmount existing boundaries of scientific knowledge and look into the type of space and time about which as yet science can say nothing definite; there is a need for the aesthetic mastery of the world and its recreation by man in his works based on the laws of beauty. All of these inevitably determine

the reproduction of a utopian awareness and perpetuate the utopian tradition. It would be senseless and fruitless to attempt to undermine this tradition. However, what can and must be done is to do everything possible to develop a thoughtful attitude toward utopian consciousness and its products.

We should aspire to reach a state at which, as we see utopias, we realize their nature and prevent the conversion of a utopian ideal into the latest party slogan and into a strategic concept governing the building of socialism and communism. Let a person dream of the fact that the present generation of Soviet people will live to see full communism or that by the turn of the century all people on earth will be brothers. Furthermore, in order to do everything possible that I can do, I must have lofty ideals. I must reach in my dreams levels which seem impossible today. Let the aspiration to seek ways to immortality, eternal bliss or the creation of a perpetual motion machine inspire the work of biologists, philosophers or engineers. In all this, however, it is important that not one of them proclaim his fantasy as being the laws of nature and society. A scientifically confirmed ideal and a utopian dream could walk hand in hand. All that is necessary is not to confuse one with the other and to present a dream created by one's own interest as scientific truth sanctified by the doctrine of Marx and Lenin.

Naturally, the images of socialism take shape not in a vacuum. It would be naive to assume that it would ever be possible to synthesize conditions under which such images would be entirely cleansed from their utopian features. Consequently, we must follow not the way of creating a kind of cultural vacuum in which we would artificially grow the "real" concepts of the new social system but the way of developing a system of prerequisites (guarantees) for a scientific approach to shaping the concepts of socialism.

It is a question, above all, of the need for restructuring in the social sciences and of strictly observing the principle of historicism, which calls for the study of the processes and phenomena as they occurred in reality. The existence of distorted concepts of the history of society—gaps, silences, clear forgeries or forbidden topics—prevent an understanding of the inner logic of events and open a direct way to the utopian interpretation of the laws governing social development. Arbitrariness in the attitude toward the past inevitably turns into arbitrariness toward the future.

However, the social sciences would be able to help to de-utopianize our awareness only if the necessary creative autonomy is present. It should be an autonomy which would give them the right to draw independent conclusions and relieve them of the need to engage in circumstantial oscillations related to the "theoretical substantiation" of the concepts of socialism shared by bureaucratic groups which, having the power, extant in their own corporate interest as the interest of the state

and even the nation and which, deprived of this power, become (together with their own views) targets of justified criticism. The time has come to draw a clear line separating the party-mindedness of the social sciences and the "servicing" by such sciences of the particular interests of individuals and groups which control them.

A no less important prerequisite for the de-utopianizing of our concepts of socialism is improving information activities. A great part of the information which enters daily circulation contributes virtually nothing to the understanding of processes occurring in domestic and international life or even conceals real situations. On the other hand, some socially significant information is not put in wide circulation at all, as was the case until recently regarding many statistical data. As a result, dangerous "vacuums" and "dead zones" appear in the information foundations on which our knowledge of the contemporary world is based. This makes extremely difficult the shaping of accurate concepts concerning local and global trends and laws and is a nutritive soil for the structuring of fictionalizing and distorting by our ideological opponents of real trends of development of both capitalism and socialism.

Improving the spreading and consumption of information presumes improving the way it is produced. Until recently, specific sociological studies in our country were of a sporadic and local nature. As a result, neither specialists nor, even less so, the public had, and still have, a clear idea of many processes which characterize social life in contemporary society and, to an even greater extent, our social consciousness, and the range of values and political orientations which prevail in individual social groups and in society at large.

The main criterion for shaping realistic concepts of socialism (and communism as a whole) is the further development of democracy. It is precisely the direct and extensive participation of the people in the political process, i.e., its political practices, that tests the veracity of mass concepts of socialism. It is precisely the free, open, impartial and practical discussion—without any monopoly on truth—of the concepts of the building of socialism and communism, developed in science and politics, that contributes to correcting utopian deviations and to the destruction of speculative schemes.

Today, when a great deal of good words are being said about restructuring, the prime task is to prevent it from growing, unwittingly and imperceptibly, utopian encrustations which tomorrow will gain the powerful force of inertia and lead all of us down the beaten tracks. The "circle" of obsolete concepts must be broken immediately and at several points, one of which would mean freeing our consciousness from utopian illusions.

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### Shaping Internationalist Convictions

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[Article by Khazhbikar Khakhyashevich Bokov, chairman of the Chechen-Ingush ASSR Supreme Soviet Presidium]

[Text] A number of factors determine the pace of our economic and social progress, not the least of which is the level of socialist social relations, including national and international relations and ties. Hence the importance of the task of steadily **shaping internationalist convictions**. Our purpose is to educate the type of person to whom feelings of friendship, fraternity, mutual support and guarantee and rejection of any manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism would be organically inherent.

Strange though it might seem, today elements of national conceit and boastfulness have become noticeably apparent. Unless countered with efficient preventive means, such a virus could cause a serious disease. Here are several examples.

Some time ago passions unexpectedly flared around the novel "*Sozvezdiye Yarlygi*" [The Yarlyga Galaxy], which appeared in the Chechen-Ingush bookstores. Generally speaking, this was nothing but a case of "much ado about nothing." The author described a banal story of the cooled-off feelings of a young heroine toward her husband and her love relationship with a young shepherd. All in all, there was nothing especially interesting in the story.

Nonetheless, members of the creative intelligentsia all of a sudden objected, accusing the author of no more and no less than a chauvinistic sally, an effort to promote hostility among the peoples of the Caucasus. The charge, as we can see, was quite serious. The problem was discussed by the RSFSR Writers' Union. What discord had the author initiated? None. In all likelihood, one must be the possessor of some kind of "special" sense to see a politically harmful meaning in describing a love relationship. According to the critics, how was this manifested? It turns out, the female character was Chechen, for which reason she had no right to cool off toward her husband and fall in love with another man. This simply must not be! This is first. Second, because of Muslim religious dogma, her beloved being a Balkar, he is not only forbidden to fall in love with someone else's wife but even look at her and admire her beauty. It is this kind of distorted approach that dictates the conclusion that the author of the novel is allegedly preaching hostility between friendly nations.

Here is another story: An article was published in one of the central newspapers, the author of which, in a very restrained and sympathetic tone, expressed his puzzlement on the subject of the archaic custom still encountered in some areas, according to which a woman cannot

sit at a table while her husband is dining with guests. It may seem that there is nothing insulting in this remark, for this is a custom which, in fact, is barbaric among civilized people. However, a group of republic journalists issued an official protest, classifying the article as a "frontal national insult:" despite the fact that the tone was correct it, allegedly, had been written in the spirit of the "tsarist generals."

Such "objections" are by no means purposeless. Some people are trying to assume the role of being the virtually exclusive interpreters of national history and defenders of primordial sacredness of the customs and mores of their peoples. Any view which fails to coincide with theirs is rejected out of hand.

The following question is legitimate: is national pride alien to us? As we know, Lenin answered this question even before the October Revolution: no, it is not. It is inherent in each nation. This pride assumed a qualitatively new content with the victory of the October Revolution which, as Lenin anticipated, put an end to the world of national oppression, national squabbling or national exclusivity and proclaimed the birth of a new world in which there was no place for privileges or even for the slightest possible oppression of man by man (see "*Poln. Sobr. Soch.*" [Complete Collected Works], vol 23, p 150).

Such was the initial objective which the bolsheviks-Leninists set in their political struggle. To some it may have appeared, naturally, as something impossible. In the final account, Saint-Simon, Owen and Fourier had dreamed of an ideal social system but all of their dreams were like castles in the air. Utopia! The communists, who seized the power in October, were also accused of utopia by many people. How could they bring down the foundations of the old world, which had taken ages to develop?! No, the skeptics stubbornly repeated, it was impossible. However, 7 decades passed, a mere instant in the history of mankind, but an instant equaling centuries, for it enabled the peoples of our country to put an end to ignorance, poverty and backwardness and to reach the peaks of social progress.

Unquestionably, every person has a feeling of a national dignity. There is nothing wrong with this, naturally, providing that one does not overstep the boundaries beyond which such a feeling converts into national narcissism. In order to establish a clear demarcation it would suffice to go a little bit back into history and look at the conditions under which our peoples lived in the past. It is precisely peoples rather than individuals that some people try to zealously to aggrandize. Such efforts are frequently presented as a manifestation of love for one's nation and national patriotism. What kind of view develops about those who objectively, from class-oriented positions, can analyze the past in order to make an accurate forecast of the future, ensure the proper upbringing of the growing generation and, finally, properly assess the activities of the true fighters for the

people's happiness? Efforts are made to depict them as people who did not love their nation, who ignore its interests and who, in general, lacked feelings of national pride and honor. Such is the one-sided and distorted interpretation of patriotism, which still has some supporters.

Let us look honestly at what we were no more than 70 years ago. Let us try soberly, without self-adulation, to look at ourselves, at our own life, as though from the outside. Perhaps it is precisely this type of look that we are lacking today. If we look closely we would inevitably see and realize that the level of the development of the peoples in the peripheral areas of tsarist Russia at that time was much lower than even that of the peoples of today's economically backward countries. A significant segment of the population of the eastern and southern ethnic areas in Russia had stopped in its development somewhere on the approaches to feudalism. Our fathers and grandfathers proved their identity with their thumb.

Every one of us has the right to be proud of the economic, social and spiritual wealth of his own republic. He must be proud also that in a number of important respects, particularly in the social area, we have been able to outstrip even some developed capitalist countries. However, this does not give us even the slightest reason to become arrogant and we must remain honest when it comes to historical memory. This means to realize that alone we would not have greatly outstripped today's underdeveloped countries. We must realize this and be fraternally grateful to the Russian people who, after the establishment of the Soviet system, deprived themselves of a great deal for the sake of leading to the high road previously forgotten and backward peoples.

The Great Patriotic War became a stern trial for all the peoples of the Soviet Union. The sons and daughters of the homeland, its true patriots, including Chechen and Ingush, defended it arms in hand from the fascist aggression. During that dramatic period in our history the true nature of the Soviet Nation was manifested: deep ideological convictions, inflexible will and high feeling of love and loyalty to the fatherland.

However, the true face of the anti-social, the anti-Soviet elements was exposed as well. Whereas in times of peace of the socialist society they artfully concealed themselves among the mass of the people, during a most difficult time for our country they displayed their true nature. Checheno-Ingushetiya was no exception. Here as well traitors and enemies of the Soviet system became energized: they set up terrorist groups, carried out acts of sabotage, and made attempts on the lives of party and soviet activists. Above all they struck their own people in the back. However, the dirty crimes of the traitors were one of the reasons for the tragedy which afflicted the Chechen and the Ingush—their virtually total eviction from their native areas.

Yes, there were traitors, and there were many of them. Nonetheless, they accounted for an insignificant minority of our people. Therefore, why is it that the entire people were subjected to such a terrible punishment?

Let us openly say that the then leaders of the party, soviet and administrative authorities in the republic were unable to rally the healthy forces, to mobilize them in the struggle against the traitors, to break the age-old ways of collective guarantees and to deliver the renegades to the justice of our own people.

The result was that a severe and insulting accusation of treason to the homeland was leveled against the Chechen and Ingush. Their feeling of national pride was denigrated, the best of all human qualities, the feeling of patriotism of the thousands of sons of our people, both those who fought at the front and who selflessly toiled in the rear, as well as many veterans of the October Revolution and the civil war. To them this was worse than any other kind of suffering, more terrible than the harshest privations, and worse than death itself.

Nonetheless, the overwhelming majority of Chechen and Ingush did not despair. They did not fall prey to hatred, realizing that violations of socialist legality were the result of the crimes committed by individuals alien to the Soviet system and to the activities of our party.

What is it that saved us? What is it that warmed up our souls frozen in the ice of degradation? What helped to ease the pain of the wounds inflicted during the period of the cult of Stalin's personality? It was the very nature of the Soviet system, its profound humanism, the human goodness of the people around us and their concern and support.

The places where the Chechen and Ingush were evacuated were inhabited by Soviet people like themselves, of different nationalities. As good friends and brothers, they worked jointly and jointly helped the front, as much as they could. It is thus that an entire generation grew up, which experienced first-hand the support and concern of fraternal peoples. This was a generation which preserved in its memory the most valuable and precious feature—the friendship among Soviet peoples—and not hatred caused by an act of injustice and arbitrariness.

This friendship—the main gain of the Leninist party—defined the main content of the entire history of the peoples of the USSR. The pages of this history, however tragic they may have been at times, should be brought to our children and grandchildren as they were in fact, without either embellishing or defaming true reality.

Yes, all sorts of things happened in our history, and many of them were bitter. However, if we are to be totally honest and truthful, we must acknowledge that the Russian people, who themselves experienced so many cruel tragedies during the time of the cult of personality, always opened a path to all of us, not in

words but in action, displaying for the peoples of Central Asia and the Northern Caucasus the type of concern which could be compared only to one which an elder brother feels for a younger one.

Selfless acts usually do not demand gratitude. But to pay for something good with ingratitude—what could be more shameful? Let us consider some actions committed by our own fellow-citizens and ask ourselves: how could, in general, such a thing become possible?

Let me cite a single example: in the past 3 years 62 teachers and 250 medical workers have come to Checheno-Ingushetiya from other parts of the country. These are specialists who are urgently needed by the republic. Within the same time, 49 teachers and one half of the medical personnel left the republic. Why? Essentially because the young specialists were met not with well-wishingness and concern but with callousness and even manifestations of nationalism. It is self-evident that we assess such cases on a strict and principle-minded basis. However, they also make us think a great deal. The party has always been concerned with the all-round socioeconomic and spiritual development of the national republics. At the same time, it has struggled and will continue to struggle against all manifestations of chauvinism or nationalism, or any kind of nationalistic quirks. Ignoring such fundamental principles and neglecting work for the international upbringing of the masses could revive the activities of nationalistic elements. The Alma-Ata events of the end of 1986 were a serious warning to all of us.

Any such case is a deviation from the general laws governing our development. Surreptitiously, many people accept the following explanation: the reasons are in the accursed past, in national suspicion and touchiness. But is this indeed the case? In my view, this is not the root of the matter. We, I believe, are either deluding or comforting ourselves by seeking the reasons for many nationalistic quirks only in the vestiges of the past. I believe that the root of this evil is found above all in shortcomings in raising the growing generation.

We frequently say that education begins in the family. This is true. It is equally true that the firm conceptual views of the young person are formed in the school. But let us open the VUZ course and textbooks on history and the social sciences and see how thorough is the knowledge which the student obtains in matters of the history and practice of inter- and intranational relations under the conditions of the Soviet state. All we can do is shrug our shoulders: such topics are virtually excluded in lectures or seminars. Such most important problems are being mentioned as though in passing, in a colorless bureaucratic language. Therefore, the graduate of an institute, a technical institute in particular, leaves the school with an extremely scant formal knowledge of matters related to the contemporary level of national relations as, actually, in general to the history of our country under the Soviet system.

Yet, as we know quite well, the world in which we live is oversaturated with a great variety of information and disinformation. All kinds of "voices," speaking the languages of the peoples of Central Asia and the Caucasus proclaim, day in day out, the notorious Great-Russian domination and the allegedly denigrated status of the small ethnic groups in the USSR. There also are local "experts" and "authorities" on such matters, who look at national pride only as a manifestation of national arrogance and rejection of the class approach to the history of nations. As a result, the member of an ethnic group which has given its name to the republic, imperceptibly begins to aspire to some kind of privileged status: this is, allegedly, "my" republic, by virtue of which I have priority in holding a leading position. Anyone who does not like such cadre deployment is free to leave. The fact, however, is that precisely those who "do not like it" most frequently have no claims whatsoever, although within the single family of nations everyone is equal and everyone, regardless of ethnic affiliation, has the same right to hold any position anywhere in the country.

It is rightly said that better to have the bitter truth than the sweet lie. Errors may be made in any area, including education. This is not all that terrible. What is important is not to suppress, not to worsen the errors but to seek means of correcting them, stubbornly mastering the complex art of influencing the people's awareness. People must be approached with intelligent thoughts and not with a set of worn-out phrases and cliches which loudly praise the need and importance of internationalist upbringing.

Religious fanaticism is the nurse and most dedicated servant of nationalism. The peoples of the eastern outlying areas of Russia had two traditional typical features. First, they had been farmers since times immemorial. It was the land that fed them. Second, they were essentially believers in Islam, i.e., as we usually say, they were orthodox Muslims. The past 7 decades have radically changed both the economic and social aspects of these parts of the country. Today they are highly developed industrial republics and oblasts with a rich scientific potential and a culture which is socialist in content and national in form. Nonetheless, most frequently the urban way of life does not tempt many of the natives, who prefer to live in the countryside and farm. They also part with difficulty with their religious prejudices. To this day one could still frequently hear a conversation such as the following: "Akhmet, people say that you do not believe in Allah? How can this be? You are a Chechen (Ingush)?" The implication is that the ethnic origin itself should determine an attitude toward religion.

This is indeed still frequently the case. In the Northern Caucasus, unfortunately, religion holds firm sway over a significant percentage of the population, the rural population in particular. In the Chechen-Ingush ASSR, for example, to this day a number of marriages are religious. Muslim customs frequently govern funeral



ceremonies or noteworthy events in private life. The great activeness of the clergy in disseminating religious dogma among children is a subject of particular worry. Thus, according to a study, 40 percent in one of the secondary schools in Grozny considered themselves religious for, in their view, religion does not cause any harm but is, conversely, useful. Let us point out that religious fanatics organize hunts for the souls of the children. For a long time a children's religious group operated in a large Chechen-Ingush village, headed by several old religious fanatics. A number of students became involved with it. However, neither the school principal nor the teachers paid any importance to this, although they were informed of its existence.

It is worth pointing out that many native customs are themselves not free from religious feelings. When students in an Ordzhonikidze secondary school decided to put a wreath of flowers on the common grave of those who had fallen in battles for the homeland during the Great Patriotic War, on memorial day, the then school principal A. Parov, who no longer holds this position, and some people who had fallen prey to religious prejudices, did not recommend that either Ingush or Chechen children go to the common grave saying, allegedly, that it was in a "Christian cemetery." This was truly monstrous: a person entrusted with the most precious thing—the education of children and the spreading of knowledge and exposure to the great communist ideas—himself turned out entangled in religious prejudices.

Soviet law defends the freedom of conscience and religion of the citizens. However, this does not mean in the least that it protects the clergy from legal responsibility for the commission of illegal actions. Yet such actions are quite widespread and are not always blocked by the authorities. To this day dozens of self-ordained mullahs are still operating in our republic. They are given the title of "holy" which they use for purposes which have nothing to do with religion—to extort money from believers. There also are many illegal religious associations in our republic. Citing a variety of pretexts, their organizers avoid to register with the Soviet authorities which are not only not harming the true rights and freedoms of conscience of the citizens but, conversely, protect them. Efforts are being made, in circumvention of Soviet laws, to open illegal mosques. In frequent cases the clergy tries to assume the right to control family relations, throw their weight around in controlling funeral ceremonies and freely promote religious and patriarchal-tribal customs.

Sometimes local authorities keep silent and idle. Furthermore, some of their representatives even connive with the arbitrary behavior of religious leaders and with their encroachments on the legitimate rights and interests of the citizens. In Goyta village, for example, Avadi, a self-styled religious preacher, tried to prevent, with the help of a group of supporters, the burial of a 97-year old man in the Verkhnyaya Goyta cemetery because he

belonged to a different sect. What did Tsobayev, chairman of the rural soviet and representative of the authorities, do? He displayed complete lack of principles: he agreed with the view of the sectarians according to which the members of the other sect had to leave the village.

Practical experience indicates that internationalist, patriotic and atheistic views and convictions are not asserted by themselves. They do not come automatically with changes in the sociopolitical and economic conditions of human activities. They are always the result of a stubborn struggle against backward thinking and ossified traditions and painstaking work in shaping a new outlook and a high standard of international communications and the development of socialist customs and traditions.

The internationalization of social life in our multinational country also leads to the growth of an internationalist awareness, strengthening the national pride of the peoples and the intensification of their national self-awareness. These processes are dialectically interrelated, for true internationalism has never been considered by Marxist-Leninists as unrelated to national feelings. However, the intensification of a national self-awareness as an element for the assertion of socialist awareness includes certain contradictions. In itself, the aspiration to interpret the place and role of one's own ethnic group or nationality in the sociohistorical process and pride in the contribution it has made, along with the contribution of the other fraternal nations, in the establishment and development of a socialist community and in strengthening the friendship among the peoples are not only natural but also progressive phenomena. The facts also prove, however, that under certain circumstances such national feelings could develop into nationalistic narcissism, vaingloriousness and egotism. It is important to promote the combination between the national and the international and to observe the type of correlation between the two which would ensure socialist progress in all areas of our life. The new life, active efforts to reorganize social relations and intensify the contacts among national groups, remove the numerous barriers erected by religious fanaticism and nationalism aimed at perpetuating the exclusivity of a given ethnic group and preserve intact medieval mores and customs. Could this be the reason, some people may say, why views on the influence of ancient patriarchal times are excessive? Actually, as many educated highlanders believe, one can no longer be entrapped by religious-tribal prejudices, for under the Soviet system not only the social aspect of the former outlying areas of tsarist Russia has changed but the individuals themselves have changed as well.

Yes, this is indeed our greatest achievement and the natural question which arises is the following: are concepts on the durability of obsolete dogmas and prejudices born in academe? Alas, such is not the case. Such prejudices, which developed a long time ago, are still found in some of our homes. "Expelling" them is not all that simple, for it faces the desperate opposition of



conservative elements which are trying to impose their own life values on the new generations, along with concepts on duty and loyalty and strict observance of the traditions of grandfathers and great-grandfathers, entirely turned to the past. Sometimes the force of habit proves to be so powerful that not every young person, even one who has mastered the most advanced knowledge concerning natural and social phenomena, can oppose it and reject that which has been the subject of veneration for many generations of close and more distant relatives. Naturally, one may smile at such a strange combination of darkness and light, and ignorance and education. However, this reality must not be ignored. It cannot be avoided and voided with any kind of decree or resolution.

Naturally, it would be the gravest of errors to assume that the past of our or of any other nation could be fully erased and forgotten. This is no empty talk: in our country as well such extreme revolutionary defamers have existed. They caused tremendous harm to socialism and to the international education of the people. No, the attitude toward the past must be one of care and tremendous respect. The point is that it is not something distant and abstract. It involves the lives of our fathers and we must be familiar with it. One cannot properly evaluate the present of one's people without knowledge of its history. This applies to traditions as well. I would not be sinning against the truth by saying that other nations could be envious of our long and firm traditions of revering the memory of those who have fallen, respecting our elders and, finally, maintaining strong family ties. The people of the Caucasus have always been famous for their warm hospitality as well.

Therefore, many traditions which are passed on from one generation to another stay alive and young. Nonetheless, some people retain in their minds confused ideas about some stages in our history and the very nature of existing popular traditions and customs. They are being persistently instilled in the minds of trusting people by religious preachers and by some historians who, under the pretext of "creative research" are promoting essentially nationalistic petty ideas. The fact that the traditions of the people are raised to the rank of "national," and that the people are called upon to preserve them may seem quite innocent on the surface. However, what is the frequent aftermath of such an innocent conversion? It turns out that by virtue of such traditions it becomes improper to speak of the class stratification among Chechen and Ingush in the prerevolutionary period and that unlike other nations they, allegedly, could not be separated into rich and poor and that virtually all of them were revolutionaries and jointly fought the counterrevolutionaries, who were members of other nations.

In turn, the clergy persistently tries to pass religious ceremonies for national traditions, tirelessly claiming that the originality of the nation (in this case Chechen and Ingush) is expressed through the profession of Islam. Do such sermons affect the people? Yes, they do. This is

confirmed, among others, by the fact, supported by sociological studies, that a substantial number of participants in the vocational education system in our republic consider religious celebrations and ceremonies as attributes of national traditions.

Frequently a philistine attitude develops in some young people, and not only among them, also as a result of the irresponsible confusion which is allowed to occur in evaluating the more touchy periods of our past and individual historical personalities. Historical blanks and pages filled in books with innumerable question marks and unfinished statements are willingly used by both historical ignoramuses and obvious political adventurers. Their methods and intellectual capabilities may be different but their purpose is one: to sow the seeds of mistrust or perhaps merely doubts in the truthfulness of the political evaluations of the past and the present. Is it necessary, for example, to prove that in the past privation was the eternal companion of the highlander? There was not enough bread and, frequently, there was not even enough wood to heat the old home. Time, however, is merciless: those who experienced the pain of unrelieved want and hopelessness are dying out. In today's youth, concepts of the life of its fathers and grand-fathers develops only on the basis of our stories. These stories, oral or written, must be extremely honest, for it is from the mouths of its elders that the young generation, the children in particular, learn their first lessons in historical truth. But is everyone truly aware of this?

I unwittingly recall an event which I witnessed. At the top of a small hill a group of secondary school students were looking with great curiosity at the neighboring mountain which rose sharply from the stony bank of a mountain stream and looked like the humps of a camel back. On each of the humps one could see the ruins of ancient buildings among which, miraculously intact, were small towers which, in ancient times, had been built by warring tribes or families to observe from their top the actions of their blood enemies. An acquaintance of mine mentioned once that in his family blood revenge had taken the lives of 35 men. Therefore, seeing those silent witnesses of a bloody quarrel, it would have been inappropriate to speak of the cloudless harmony in relations among people although belonging to the same nation.

Meanwhile the teacher, who taught history in a rural school, pointing at the wreckage, was saying emotionally:

"Look, children, at this pile of stones revealing the history of our ancestors. Imagine those distant times. Instead of these ruins there were big houses with vast yards surrounded by stone walls. Towers rose over those structures and the head of the family stood on them every day to survey the slopes of the mountains on which his herds grazed and, looking in the distance, to see the frequent arrival of desired guests. The master of the

house would then climb down and mount his horse reined by his sons and would fly like an eagle over the fields where rich grain was growing..."

The teacher spoke long and with unabated enthusiasm, as though quoting from the romantic pages of an Alexandre Dumas novel. After the excited students had scattered along the slope, I asked the teacher:

"Do you realize that what you were telling the children was not the history of their ancestors but a legend of unfulfilled dreams?"

My interlocutor was first insulted, then angered and, after cooling off, frankly admitted:

"I may have been somewhat carried away and painted an imaginary picture. Generally speaking, I see nothing harmful in this. Throughout our entire lives we have heard so much of the accursed past of our ancestors and their wild mores and customs, that everything past appears like an endless nightmare. Perhaps it is worth protecting the children from this. They will grow up and will understand everything..."

How frequently we hear this: they will grow up and understand. However, the youngsters will grow up precisely with the type of information which they acquired at school. Should we be astounded, therefore, that some such immature young "truth-seekers" begin to praise unrestrainedly the idealized past and heatedly to fight any imaginary harm done to their national autonomy and national customs? The seed cast on the ground is bound to germinate and the shoots will mandatorily be like that same seed.

All of us have feelings of national pride. No one is encroaching on such sacred feelings. Each nation has its own language and history and would like to know its roots. This is an entirely natural aspiration and does not conflict in the least with the ideals of communism. What becomes abnormal is to become locked within oneself, to boast and to consider this feeling as an absolute value. Soviet patriotism, as a superior manifestation of the national pride of the citizens of our country, is incompatible with national boastfulness. It is inseparable from internationalism. It has a clear sociopolitical content and is inseparable from communist idea-mindedness and the firmness of class-oriented positions. It is only thus that a communist must understand patriotism.

In my view, the rule of always telling the truth about everything must become the moral law of anyone who, one way or another, is involved in ideological work and in molding the personality of the Soviet individual. It would be no exaggeration whatsoever to say that the developing process of revolutionary transformation of society is going through the hearts and souls of the people. The proper key which can provide access to those hearts is Truth. It is truth in relations among people, in explaining the events of the past and in assessing the

present. A person who knows everything, who can judge of everything knowledgeably, will work with an awareness of his individual civic responsibility for his cause and for the fate of restructuring.

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**Human Intellect and Technocratic Mentality**  
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[Article by Vladimir Petrovich Zinchenko, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, department head, Moscow Institute of Radio Engineering, Electronics and Automation]

[Text] The most important indicator and prerequisite of restructuring and a factor enabling our society to come out of the lengthy period of stagnation is the increased attention which a great variety of publications are paying to the problems of man, awareness, spirituality, culture, morality and education. Prime among them are the problems of the new thinking, intellect, intellectual potential and the intellectual resources of society.

We are only in the process of realizing the fact that the overall human intellect is increasingly becoming the main productive and creative force of culture and civilization. That is precisely why it is time to begin to treat the intellect as the main human resource and not only as the most important means of solving existing or developing global contemporary problems but also the most important value and objective of social development. Let us hope that among all existing and conceivable natural resources, this one will prove to be the most reliable and inexhaustible. However, in order for this to come about substantial efforts must be made.

The intellectual potential of society is by no means uniform. Its numerous varieties play different roles in the contemporary world and in the destinies of civilization and culture. They have been and are used to the good or the detriment of mankind. We have chosen to discuss, among the numerous familiar varieties of intellectual potential, technocratic thinking, for it is precisely it, not being new, that has become widespread in recent decades and acquired a great deal of power. It is being increasingly mentioned in the press but efforts to understand what this type of thinking represents and the correlation between it and intellect, considered as a specific entity, and the type of intellect within it which is developed to a greater or lesser extent or is totally absent, are significantly less frequent. Finally, in what respect does technocratic thinking apply to man, human values and culture?

In recent years the topic of the human intellect has been given a somewhat unusual interpretation. Excessive concern is being shown for artificial intelligence. Even when the intellectual revolution is being discussed, the impression develops that it is related less to man than to computers (it is forgotten, in this case, that many philosophers of the past, who were able to make revolutionary changes in the interpretation and understanding of the laws governing the development of nature, society and reason itself, accomplished this without the help of computers). To an equal extent the intellectual potential of society is frequently identified with the information potential. This is the consequence of the fact that technology is quite energetically penetrating into culture, as reflected in language. In addition to "artificial intelligence," terms such as "mass culture," "computerized education," "automatic translation," "design automation," and "machine-made music" have appeared.

All this, however, seems "petty" compared to the changing appearance of society itself. Whereas several decades ago social development was characterized as cultural-historical or sociocultural, today we would like to hope that it will remain sociotechnological at least and will not turn into a technological, information, post- or super-industrial, technotronic, etc. In their time, such transformations were predicted by the members of the Club of Rome. Today, however, the symptoms of the reality of such predictions have become all too obvious. Let me illustrate this by examples from the areas of education and science, with which I am more familiar. I note with concern the extremely undesirable transformations which are taking place in these areas. Information has begun to replace knowledge; memory is replaced with understanding; decision making with problem solving; formulation of plans and programs with shaping images of the existing situation and its possible variations and their interpretation and realization; forecasts and projections have begun to replace real sensible actions; emotions, effects and ambitions have taken the place of intellectual feelings, creative emotions, passions and charity; real scientific achievements are being blocked by scientific armor; finally, mediocre education has begun to replace culture. This enumeration of changes, done deliberately, to indicate the gravity of the situation, can be expressed in rather extreme and sharp ways. Perhaps all of these transformations into fictions or into the shade of such realities exist only as symptoms and since the disease has not as yet turned into an epidemic we must be aware of the danger it represents as well as of its reasons and origins. What makes this even more necessary is that each one of these substitutions is a symptom of lack of spirituality, a symptom of the triumph (or, at least, the prevalence) of technocratic thinking. It is precisely this that must be countered by the new thinking, which becomes a matter of concern for the most progressive representatives of mankind. It is a question of a new thinking not only in politics but also in science, education, technology and, finally, economics.

This situation did not develop accidentally. It needs interpretation. The problem has long gone beyond

opposing one culture with another (artistic intelligentsia versus scientists, Ch. Snow) or the limits of the familiar argument between physicists and lyricists. While these two were arguing, technocrats began to win the battle.

What is the nature of technocratic thinking? It is not an inseparable feature of scientists in general or of technical knowledge in particular? It could be inherent in a political personality and in people involved in the arts and the humanities. Technocratic thinking means an outlook the essential features of which are the fact that means prevail over ends and a specific objective over the meaning and the interests of the humanities; symbols prevails over life and the realities of the contemporary world, and technology (including psychotechnology) prevails over man and his values. Technocratic thinking means Intellect to which reason and wisdom are alien. In technocratic thinking there are no categories such as morality, conscience, human emotions and virtues.

An essential feature of technocratic thinking is a view of man as a trainable, a programmable component of a system, as the object of a great variety of manipulations, rather than a personality characterized not only by autonomous activities but also freedom in terms of a possible range of activities. Technocratic thinking can quite adequately program subjectivism beyond which, in turn, specific social interests are concealed.

It is not our purpose to define technocratic thinking but only to try to depict its nature and thus to show its similarity with artificial intelligence. Although the latter does not exist as yet, technocratic thinking is already a reality and the danger exists that the artificial intelligence created on the basis of its facilities will be even more frightening particularly if, in its entire sterility, it becomes the prototype of human thinking (the term "artificial intelligentsia" has already appeared in the West).

This is the inevitable conclusion reached by comparing successes in the development of artificial intelligence and space weaponry systems. Today the destructive power of intellect can indeed be assessed on a planetary scale. A great deal in common exists between technocratic thinking and artificial intelligence. Both could be considered as no more than a problem-solving system. Let this be accurately understood. It would be stupid to object to the development of artificial intelligence, expert systems, and so on. Tremendous accomplishments have already been achieved in this connection, and will become even more impressive in the immediate future. We oppose the ideology of artificial intelligence which would be granted total discretion in solving the global problems of mankind. Nonetheless, we should remember that a thought cannot be considered as such until it contains, in addition to itself, the concept of the meaning of human life, for without this it is, at best, an intellectual exercise and, at worst, intellectual insanity.

As we go describing technocratic thinking, we should consider yet another problem. Why is it that precisely now society is becoming aware of the danger of such thinking? Why is it that previously this danger was not ascribed the rightful seriousness? Obviously, the reason is scientific and technical progress. However, this link is neither direct nor fatal. The point is that technocratic thinking is not the consequence of the scientific and technical revolution.

It preceded the revolution and has existed in a great variety of areas of human activities. Furthermore, it seems to us, the greatest accomplishments of scientific and technical progress are the offspring not of technocratic thinking but of truly outstanding minds, the work of human hands. Nonetheless, the situation with scientific and technical progress creates favorable conditions not only for the unprecedented dissemination of technocratic thinking but also for the exceptionally fast application of its results (I would not like to use the term "accomplishments"). The reasons for this deserve special study. Let us note the main one, found in the very term "scientific and technical progress," in which no place has been left for social progress. It is precisely the former that became a symbol of faith for many scientists and technicians. It became their objective. However, as we know, historical experience clearly indicates that social progress has been accomplished only wherever and whenever people have thought above all of man and not of a variety of even the most important isolated symbols of his life. Could exclusive concern for the NTP, ignoring concern for social development, lead to the fact that the NTP itself, having become the only and absolute meaning of activities, would fatally become meaningless? Yet today it is only the mass information media, the representatives of some of the humanities and the ergonomists who are the only ones concerned with the human factor or, more accurately, with man, and their voices are quite unwillingly being listened to by the heads of industrial departments and enterprises. It is becoming increasingly clear today that technocratic thinking has virtually exhausted its possibilities in the areas of technology and production and is becoming a hindrance to NTP.

Science has come closer to technology and separated itself from man. This applies even to the natural sciences and psychology in which technocratic orientations have become prevalent. Marx's noteworthy concept has been forgotten: "Subsequently, the natural sciences will include within themselves the science of man to the same extent to which the science of man will include the natural sciences: this will be a **single science**" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "*Soch.*" [Works], vol 42, p 124). Technology tries to include within it the science of man, considering him as a cog, as a link and a component of a more or less extensive and complex technological or sociotechnological system, rather than a subject of conscious activities.

Finally, the situation is worsened by yet another circumstance. V.I. Vernadskiy wrote that action is a characteristic feature of scientific thinking. However, it characterizes to an even greater extent technocratic thinking which is born under the conditions of scientific and technical progress. In this area it is as though immediately, without any considerations and hesitations, it becomes embodied into an instrument or a technology. Technology becomes a self-seeking aim and is separated from its consequences which are neither considered nor anticipated for any given long-term period of time. Yet such a danger was anticipated by perspicacious psychologists: "...With an exceptional mobility and infinity of freedom of the human mind, it would be vitally dangerous if any particular idea which man may develop would automatically inspire him to act. The following is very essential and vitally expedient: before gaining the power of motivation, an intellectual decision should be sanctioned by consistency with which such a personal idea will affect the subject and the satisfaction of his needs and interests" (A.V. Zaporozhets, "*Izbrannyye Psikhologicheskiye Trudy*" [Selected Works on Psychology]. Vol I. Pedagogika, Moscow, 1986, p 297). In other words, A.V. Zaporozhets, who spent long years working on problems of the development of children's thinking and its connection with action, is concerned with the "intelligent action," as thinking was described in Ancient Rus. Such concern should be displayed by specialists in the area of computerized education.

The reason we have paid such great attention to technocratic thinking is that it is precisely this thinking that is the opposite (possibly not the only one) of new thinking. In shaping new thinking it would be useful to turn to the cultural meaningful image of the old. It was not always "bad" (or, rather, primitive-positivistic, which, actually, is the result of technocratic thinking). Today's mankind owe it a great deal, if not everything, although it frequently tends to forget its roots and origins. For that reason, the next step in our considerations should be to restore precisely the original natural intellect, for both in this case as in technocratic thinking, the task of strictly defining it is extremely complex.

The meaning aspect of the mind is found in Plato's concept. According to Plato the intellect is that which distinguishes the human soul from the animal. The intellect is a supra-individual creative principle which includes intuition and which makes man part of the divine world.

Like many concepts in contemporary science, the concept of intellect has a long history. It is cultural-historical and has been influenced by numerous encrustations which have led to its contemporary usage. This is the reason for which psychologists are hard put to define it. The number of definitions is too large (more than 70) to determine which one of them is the right one.

A variety of classifications of the intellect have been used. One of the earlier is that of a sensory and rational intellect; this was followed by the philogenetic and

ontogenetic development of the intellect, which is closer to our own understanding—the obvious-active, the specific-character, the discursive. Other grounds of classification have been suggested as well, such as reproductive and creative. Let us add to them artificial and natural, and so on. All of these are backed by thousands of outstanding experimental studies, thanks to which a great deal became known concerning the mechanisms of mental activities and its various forms. A proven nomenclature of intellectual means, methods and operations has been identified and described (logical and psychological); stages or phases in the solution of various problems (including creative ones) have been determined; a correlation was proven between success in solving a problem and its material nature, the nature of tasks, the level of development of other mental processes, motivations and emotions, and functional human conditions (stress); patterns have been found in the shaping of intellectual (mental) actions, and so on. All of this would have been impossible without changing, concretizing and bringing down to earth the concept of intellect.

All that stopped the researchers was the creative act. The reason for this was the objective difficulties of studying it, difficulties which remain to this day. The creative or the final act of the intellect was left for description and study to art, psychoanalysis, history, and philosophy and methodology of science, which include intuition in their area of studies. As a result, we know a great deal about the varieties of intellect and we are able to separate one from another and to define and, furthermore, to shape some intellect without, however, being able to define intellect as such. The moment we try to do so or to assess the adequacy of any type of definition, we face its initial meaningful nature, the nature of some kind of platonic, divine function. The "divine spark" is absent in the definitions of intellect (and, possibly, in defining it). Conversely, a place for its pragmatic functions or for keeping secrets is virtually always found. That is why many of the definitions of intellect are now less of a divine than of a strictly utilitarian, physical or mystical nature. The reason for the difficulties related to defining the intellect is that its meaning involves also that which is described as intuition, "subconscious" and "irrational" and described in terms such as illumination, direct perception of the truth, insight and, frequently, revelation.

It is self-evident that successes in the study of intuition turned out to be measurably more modest than in the study of the intellect, for the intuitive act is not a statistical phenomenon. Furthermore, as a rule acts of intuition have been characterized negatively as subconsciousness (i.e., subconscious conclusions), the unpredictability of the moment, impossibility to capture them in terms of time and their instantaneous nature. Equally unpredictable is the localizing of such acts in space. They may be found in an apple orchard, on the step of a bus, at the peak of a mountain, on a rock, in a cell with a monkey in it, in a dream, etc. According to H. Bergson,

intuition does not require any particular capability or sensory and cognitive organs. Let us note a curious feature of views and considerations related to intuition. It is always characterized in terms of a dividing line, beyond which, however, all of this is classified as intellect. This applies both to scientists who consider intuition as an instrument of the intellect as well as scientists who pit intuition against intellect. An entertaining illustration of this fact is that of efforts to structure a classification of intuitive phenomena in terms such as infra-intellectual, supra-intellectual, ultra-intellectual intuition, and so on. Translated into ordinary human language, it means intuition involving a greater or lesser amount of intellect, a sensory, or a rational or irrational intuition.

This correlation or the linking of the concepts of intellect with intuition explains the firm image of the concept of intellect, despite the fact that repeated attempts have been made to destroy it. The most interesting among them was made by Bergson in his book "*Creative Evolution*." The analysis provided here of intellectual activities was, unquestionably, the base for subsequent studies in this area, made by P. Janet, G. Piaget, A. Vallon, L.S. Vygotskiy, A.V. Zaporozhets, A.N. Leontyev and many others. It postulated the impossibility of crossing the line separating intellect from intuition. Furthermore, in providing a meaningful description of intellect, Bergson was unable to conceal his arrogant and denigrating attitude toward it and toward practical action as its foundation. Intellect can cope with the study of inanimate nature but stops at the knowledge of life. In this case nothing could help it, even were we to add to it "mathematical capabilities superior to the power of man" or "some kind of computing machine with a supernatural mind," etc. In order to learn about life we need intuition. One could express his views somewhat differently: in order to study life, we need a live knowledge and not a computing, formal, logical or other knowledge. Live knowledge, however, is the prerogative of intuition which is immeasurably superior to intellect.

We shall not analyze, and even less so criticize, Bergson's concept, which, according to Bertrand Russell, "is a splendid example of a rebellion against reason." In analyzing this critical battle with reason, V.F. Asmus wrote that "ever-new enemies appear on the field of action: perception, concept, idea, intellectual 'symbol,' images and theories. Intellect, like a hydra with 100 heads, produces ever-new forms and the struggle does not cease even for an instant" (V.F. Asmus, "*Istoriko-Filosofskiye Etyudy*" [Historical-Philosophical Studies]. Mysl, Moscow, 1984, p 248). What mattered to us was to illustrate, albeit with a single example, the numerous attempts made to destroy the sensory nature of intellect. Bergson's theory is indeed the most vivid example of such efforts. In his predilection for life he put even instinct above intellect.

However, even an outstanding philosopher (and excellent writer) such as Bergson was unable to destroy this sensory image. In his way, but also among many other

intellectual initiatives in the 20th century, he contributed a great deal to introducing the foundation of life, and not only logic, in our awareness. However, neither the "murder" of intellect nor the destruction of its sensory image were the result, and nor were they the result of the works of W. James, who pitted the "theoretical groundlessness of the intellect" to religious experience and mystical knowledge. Bergson provided grounds for reviving the half-dead intellect, deprived of the will to act and of the meaning of life, which had been the object of research and had already become a subject of measurements in modern psychology. Bergson's wish notwithstanding, science faced intuition not only as a terra incognita but also as an area of an immediate as well as more remote development of the study of the intellect.

Some intuitive acts acquire a physical nature and become accessible to study through intellectual means. In any case, living matter, living motion, living contemplation, living knowledge and study (which includes both intellect and intuition) have already become targets of a fully adequate experimental scientific research and some of the phenomena we enumerated have even been modeled.

Twentieth century psychology has made a thorough study of thinking and images and established the link between image and action and indicated the role of operating with and manipulating images in order to achieve results; the characteristics of the creation of a new image and the processes of visual thinking have been studied. The products of the latter are new models, new visual forms which bear a sensory meaning and the importance of which becomes visible. Such studies make understandable many superior metaphors which characterize visual thinking and have long existed in culture, such as "schematic vision," "graphic consideration," "observing mind," "mental view," "sensible view," and "viewing mind."

Image or visual thinking is a means of converting from a concept, idea, hypothesis and scheme to a character and, subsequently, to a new value and understanding. It is precisely at the point of the first transition that researchers localized maximal mental efforts which require the maximal stress of the scientist. A noteworthy feature of visual thinking is that through image and action it directly links man to reality and to its spatial, temporal and object-sensory forms.

The studies of visual thinking began to fill the space demarcated by the concept of "intuition." It was under their influence that in his book "*Intuitsiya i Nauka*" [Intuition and Science] (Moscow, 1967) M. Bunge assigned to the role of intuition an extremely modest place in knowledge and thought. Bergson notwithstanding, with equal enthusiasm he fought intuitivism, considering it the foundation and justification of dogmatic and authoritarian thinking.

We can therefore establish the flexibility of the dividing line between two areas of research: intellect and intuition. The extremely simplified understanding of intellect is replaced by a period of its enrichment which comes from the area of intuition. However, this process has a negative sign. Intellect begins to be conceived and interpreted as a kind of superimposition of it numerous forms, which are solving their own problems and which have their own subject and language for describing it (tangible-practical, image, verbal, sign-symbolic, discursive and even emotional). As to intuition, it acts as a possible feature of each one of them and, as before, as a relatively autonomous form but, nonetheless, a form of the intellect. The enrichment of the concept of "intellect" unquestionably contributed to the inclusion within the context of its study the affective, will and motivational—in the broad meaning of the term—personality area. This includes the study of target-setting, subjective concept of objectives and their substitution in the course of the mental process. The influence of the subjective attitude on the process and result of thinking is so great that L.S. Vygotskiy spoke of the unity between affect and intellect.

Intellect is the freest form of activity precisely in the type of understanding of freedom which Hegel and Marx emphasized. Any activity, including intellectual, must include an objective, means and result. The existence of freedom in target selection and formulation inevitably leads to freedom in the choice of ways and means of achieving results and their nature. The absence of any one of these components or else their strict fixation transforms human intellectual activities into something different such as a limited or an artificial intelligence. One could assume that once the concept of "intellect" has found its place among extreme meaningful rather than meaningless abstractions, it will come closer to its cultural sensory image.

Despite the tremendous achievements in the study of intellect, the "miracle of thinking" largely remains puzzling, for which reason it has attracted a number of researchers. In discussing such achievements, let us emphasize the firmness and durability of the sensory image of intellect as found in culture, compared to its deformations conceded by science and technology. This image has not been fully restored even in the area of psychology which, of late, has been frequently satisfied with rather poor computerized metaphors. This leads to sad considerations, the more so since computerized metaphors have as their prime source that same mentality, which is not of the best kind, a mentality according to which the intellect is reduced to the functioning of information, logical, reflectory, associative or neuron systems. Among others, this clearly reveals the influence of technocratic thinking on psychology.

Such simplifications in the interpretation of the human intellect necessarily have led and are leading to inadequate assessments of the real and anticipated possibilities of an artificial intelligence, to the obvious shortcomings in the secondary and higher education system and

errors in the selection of a strategy for its computerization. Descriptions of creative and productive thinking, as found in the history in science, including in psychology, show that the main features in this process are less operational-technical procedures and programmed solutions of already formulated problems than the structuring of the image of a problem situation, the formulation of hypotheses, problems and tasks. It is precisely in this area that researchers and the efforts of educators must be concentrated. We must point out that this has been attained by many innovative teachers (and scientists) who, so far, have been unsuccessfully trying to surmount the sluggishness existing in psychology and pedagogy. Furthermore, it is only now that specialists in the sciences of information and artificial intelligence are approaching the problem. The most perspicacious among them are beginning to realize that future artificial intelligence systems would be able to solve all problems but would be unable to formulate them. The formulation of a problem, as well as the consideration of the truly human values and meanings remain the prerogative of man. It is equally important that an awareness of this leads to the adoption of a different strategy in designing new generations of computers. The main among them is the fact that they must become a good means of training and shaping new thinking. Naturally, they should not be the only one. We must not forget that computers can not only shape but also misshape the intellect and that, unfortunately, this has already been observed in their insensible utilization.

Technocratic thinking has lost the scale which should characterize any form of human activity—man himself. It has forgotten the fact that man is the measure of all things. Technology has risen above man and stopped being its means and become its meaning and objective. As M.M. Bakhtin justifiably pointed out at one point, in itself a production tool has no significance but only a certain purpose.

Being spiritually barren, technocratic thinking has a devastating impact on culture. Here as well we must not stop at pitting one culture against another. The initial pitting of artistic against scientific intelligentsia was imperceptibly transformed into a pitting of the humanities against technical culture. But then culture by its very essence is one, universal and integral. Man is the foundation of this unity. Culture cannot be inhuman, it cannot lose or disturb the scale of man. Let us illustrate this with some random definitions of culture provided by our philosophers. Culture is an environment which raises and nurtures the individual or culture is a language which unites mankind (P. Florenskiy); culture is the cult of understanding (G. Shpet); culture is productive existence (B. Pasternak); culture is the growth of the world (A. Blok). One could dispute each one of these definitions separately but, as a whole, they provide a multidimensional and a clearly humanistic characterization of culture. Any one variety of thinking must orient its results toward the universal values listed in this characterization. Unless this does not occur, the respective form of

thinking will contribute less to the growth than to the destruction of culture and, with it, of the world.

Science, technology and art must be part of culture as its structural components or, more accurately, as elements reflecting the entity, i.e., culture. Unless this exists, they find themselves outside of culture and the latter, like Bulgakov's immortal freshness, has no degrees. The opposite of culture can be only lack of culture. At this point as well we must note that technocratic thinking, despite its apparent attractiveness, which consists of the perfect mastery of ways and means, is already approaching the limits of culture and even going beyond it. This is dangerous. Awareness of this danger triggers a movement for humanizing secondary and higher education and the system for skill upgrading, and even the humanizing of the humanities and the social sciences.

Dividing culture into two parts is like using tracing paper on which matter and spirit are pitted against each other. Let us recall the idea that pitting the material against the ideal beyond the limits of gnosiology is a gross error. The same type of error is the ontologizing of real contradictions existing between the two systems of knowledge and absolutizing the differences in their products (object and instrument, and image and idea) and means of obtaining them. Real contradictions must not be absolutized but surmounted and, desirably, from both sides at that. The origin of such contradictions is related to the fact that mankind began to produce objects and instruments which, as Marx said, are not only not its "second nature" but which destroy the first nature and are quite threatening to the nature of man and mankind. One of the reasons for this is the ideology of technocracy. It must be opposed both by humanitarianism and technology, the efforts of which must be directed toward the solution of global problems and must be guided by a clear criterion, which is the scale of man. These contradictions confirm less the division into two cultures than the alienation of both sides from the single human culture in the face of which everyone must be equal.

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### **School and PTU: Allies or Rivals?**

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[Letter to the editors by A. Frolov, member of the collegium of the State Committee for Vocational-Technical Training of the Kazakh SSR, honored vocational-technical training teacher of the Kazakh SSR]

[Text] The years which have passed since the reform of general education and vocational schools have proved that no significant changes have taken place in improving the education and upbringing of young people. As in



the past, boys and girls are displaying a belated civic development, political naivete and moods of dependency. Many of them have not developed the proper attitude toward labor.

Early professionalism has caused and continues to cause harm to the general education school and to the training of skilled workers. The idea found in the reform documents on the gradual merger of general education with vocational schools leads to the early professionalization and to subordinating general to vocational training. In their time, this was opposed by outstanding educators, such as A.V. Lunacharskiy and N.K. Krupskaya. The practical experience of work with a commune developed by A.S. Makarenko and today's Mamlyutka Boarding School in North Kazakhstan Oblast proved that the general education school must be a labor rather than vocational school.

What are we seeing today? Vocational training has been introduced in schools and interscholastic combines, followed by the regulation on acquiring a worker skill. However, after graduating from a secondary general education school, no more than 8-10 percent of the graduates go into production or enroll in SPTU to upgrade their skills. The rural schools train essentially mechanizers. Last year only one of the 23 10-grade school graduates who earned a certificate as third class tractor-machine operator remained at the Sovkhoz imeni V.I. Lenin, Kiyminskiy Rayon, Turgay Oblast; not one of the graduates of the secondary school at the Arkalyk Experimental Station in that same oblast stayed on. This situation in the countryside, in the virgin land and central oblasts of Kazakhstan may be noted virtually everywhere.

The village does not need exclusively mechanizers but also skilled workers in areas such as the storing and processing of agricultural commodities, the communal economy, consumer services, construction, etc. The schools and even less so the rural schools, where usually the 8th grade is attended by between 10 and 25 students, cannot solve this problem. Furthermore, the training of workers in secondary school has already led to the fact that the PTU need more students. We are forced to open SPTU branches directly in sovkhozes and kolkhozes where it is difficult to attain high-quality training. Material training facilities are created for the branches, involving additional state funds. Let me point out that the cost per student is 5,000 to 6,000 rubles. This 5-year period alone 80,000 openings for students in the republic and a total of 810,000 for the country at large will be made available, which will cost the state roughly 5 billion rubles. Should we allow such waste of funds?

As we know, most parents would like for their children to enter higher educational institutions immediately after secondary school. There is a "struggle" for students between secondary schools and vocational-technical schools. So far, the schools are the winners. The main principle governing their work in terms of vocational

guidance is this: "If you are a poor student you will be sent to the PTU." Indeed, as examination results of 8th-grade students assigned to SPTU indicate, no more than 5 to 10 percent earn passing grades or confirm the grades of their school certificates. The rest are unable to cope with problems, particularly in mathematics. For that reason the teaching staffs must spend a great deal of time to fill the gaps in the knowledge of the students, to the detriment of vocational training.

In order to improve the education and training of young people and to prepare them for work, it would be expedient to introduce some amendments in the reform of general education and vocational schools. Above all, the student should obtain a secondary education. From our viewpoint, this will be consistent with the principle of social justice. Today slightly over 60 percent of young people acquire their secondary education at school; the remainder acquire it in SPTU and technical schools which are under the jurisdiction of dozens of ministries and departments. A general secondary education should be a base for professional training. The term of training in PTU would be reduced, consequently, to 12-18 months, depending on the difficulty of the profession. The children would spend this entire time in mastering their future skill. Such restructuring is advantageous to the state in all respects. It is also economically beneficial. Reducing the training term in vocational and technical schools in the Kazakh SSR alone would yield, in our estimates, savings of about 70 million rubles annually.

Curriculums should assign time not for vocational but for labor training. During the training the students must become better acquainted with enterprises in various economic sectors. This would enable them to broaden their technical outlook and gain a clear idea of the fundamentals of the production process.

The dynamism in updating equipment and technology under the conditions of production intensification requires continuous labor training, for the "life span" of vocational knowledge is becoming tangibly shorter. That is why schools could engage in retraining worker cadres and developing a network of evening-shift departments. If we continue with the expansion of the network of training combines at enterprises, it will be necessary, as is currently the case, to invest huge funds for providing the training and material facilities needed by parallel vocational-training schools and drawing away from their main job engineering and technical cadres. Cadres and training facilities in the SPTU will be inefficiently used.

Meanwhile, relations between enterprises, on the one hand, and schools and SPTU, on the other, are quite complex. Enterprises continue unwillingly to allocate resources for strengthening their material base. Under the conditions of self-support and self-financing the problem will become even more aggravated. Material facilities for vocational schools will have to be financed out of the state budget. The PTU must train worker cadres on the basis of intersectorial contracts.

Vocational school graduates, in my view, should be accepted in VUZs for a shorter training course if they are to continue to master the skill acquired at the PTU. I consider right the suggestion of including all secondary technical schools within the vocational-technical training system.

In our country vocational training must be under a single authority. Any effort at letting enterprises and other organizations take over the training of workers have been unsuccessful.

Other variants are possible in combining general education with vocational schools. What is clear, however, is that our Soviet school can no longer develop as it has been.

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### **School Reform and the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences**

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[Letter to the editors by M. Makhmutov, member of the USSR APN, director of the USSR APN Scientific Research Institute of Vocational Pedagogy (Kazan)]

[Text] Many people are asking today whether the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences could head the movement for the scientific organization of labor of several million schoolteachers and instructors in vocational and technical schools.

No cheerful answer, such as "It unquestionably can!" can be given to this question. The reason is that the USSR APN was created and adapted to the circumstances of an authoritarian management system which encouraged obedience rather than creative initiative, and work based on instructions, on a uniform method. The result was a strict centralization in the management of research, the lack of direct contacts between the Academy and general school practices, and formalism in the organization of scientific research. There has been no broadly based study of progressive pedagogical experience and its theoretical interpretation and summation. No method for experimental research, particularly one involving the use of modern equipment, is being developed, and so on.

Alienation from practical experience may be noted in the very structure of the APN: some scientific research institutes deal exclusively with problems of upbringing; others with training, others again with labor instruction, and so on. As a result, no single institute is fully informed about the life of schools, teachers and students and is unable to see problems in their totality. Bureaucratic planning is clutching live thinking in a deadly grip.

Any departure from the plan and any initiative is immediately blocked whenever reports are submitted to departmental bureaus or the APN Presidium in which, instead of holding a collective discussion of an idea, usually there would be only criticism voiced on the subject of shortcomings in a formal report. Nothing useful can come out of this, the more so since practical experience is based not on the recommendations of scientific institutions but on administrators' orders.

It was precisely because of bureaucratic administration that in most difficult problems of pedagogy the unappealable viewpoint of a single manager or a few people has prevailed in most cases.

Scientific cadres are the weakest area of the academy. Their structure is extremely regrettable. Over the decades the administrative management system and "assigning" to the academy "burned-out" officials, ignoring the principles of continuity in the selection and training of cadres and the level of competence and interest in the work on the part of many institute associates have worsened so severely that in its present structure the APN is hardly able to cope with the new tasks and problems of restructuring pedagogical research.

The USSR APN consists of 143 academicians and corresponding members. Many of them are inactive. Furthermore, only one third of the full members and less than one third of the corresponding members work in the academy's institutes proper.

The scarcity of skilled cadres is frequently justified by citing the extremely low level of financing of education research. The USSR APN annual budget is lower than that of many average-sized VUZs. The budget of the leading pedagogical scientific research institute of the USSR APN is tens of times smaller than that of a similar institute in the United States. A candidate of sciences with practical experience of up to 5 years in an academic scientific research institute earns 150 rubles per month, whereas the same type of specialist in a Ministry of Education VUZ earns a great deal more. It is no accident that given the slightest opportunity capable associates of scientific research institutes, scientifically trained, move to higher educational institutions.

What are the most promising ways of restructuring the USSR APN and enhancing education research?

Above all, we should change its status and structure, management and financing. In our view, such problems are interrelated and a uniform approach to their solution should be adopted.

The APN was created as a center for the study of problems of general education schools. It is time to realize that education is not only a "children's" science. It is one of the tools for upgrading the educational standards of the entire population and for enhancing the

human factor. For that reason, its headquarters—the APN—should become the center of all education sectors: preschool, school, vocational-technical, higher, industrial, military, and continuing education. Under the new socioeconomic conditions, education must not be departmental, limited to the school and under the exclusive jurisdiction of the USSR Ministry of Education.

The academy must be staffed on the basis of the principle of full competence in matters of education and training. Its members should be, above all, scientists who have not only made a serious contribution to the sciences of pedagogy and psychology but, let us add, mandatorily work in its institutes and have long years of active work ahead of them. The structure of the APN and the scientific research institutes must be based on the principle of comprehensiveness, taking into consideration that education must be based on age group and mentality, and individual training stages. The academy must include major institutes working on all aspects of a given problem, the solution of which will determine practical progress (such as primary, secondary and vocational training, scientific research institutes, and so on).

One of the most important prerequisites for close ties with practical work is the creation of a wide network of scientific institutions throughout the country. Based on the example of other academies, regional APN centers could be created, the need for which is urgently felt. In 1987 the necessary number of doctors of pedagogical sciences was assembled with difficulty in the four Central Asian republics to staff the single specialized council on doctoral dissertations, for this entire huge area. For example, using the facilities of the Adult Education Scientific Research Institute (Leningrad) a regional APN center for the north and the Baltic area could be set up; the Scientific Research Institute of Vocational Training (Kazan) could become a center for the Volga and Ural areas and the Institute of the Information Industry and Computers (Novosibirsk), for Siberia. As a start, a number of institutes could set up separate research laboratories located in different cities in their area. We need scientific-training-production complexes based on the principle of the unity of science, education and industry, such as a complex consisting of a scientific research institute, an enterprise, base courses and enterprise PTU. Each scientific research institute should be structurally related to a teacher retraining center.

The science of education would quickly yield results if the entire academy were to convert from administrative to economic management, and scientific research establishments to cost accounting and self-financing.

Is this practically possible? Absolutely. During the first stage theoretical research would be financed by the APN while applied research would be based on cost accounting. For the past 8 years the USSR APN Scientific Research Vocational Education Institute has been doing work, based on cost accounting, on the adaptation of school and PTU graduates at the Kazan Motor Building

Production Association. Last year we started to develop a system of vocational guidance and economic training at the KamAZ and other enterprises. This 5-year period one third of the institute's budget (about 1 million rubles) will come from funds earned through economic contracts.

Under the present financial-bureaucratic system, the institute does not have the right to manage the funds it has earned. The strict ceiling imposed on the wage fund and equalization are shackling the creative potential of scientists. It is time to allow funds obtained on the basis of cost accounting studies to be used to pay for the work of associates who are combining jobs, based on economic contract programs or, in other words, to apply to the USSR APN scientific research institutes the decree governing VUZ economic contracts.

Converting to cost accounting would make it possible, in addition to the existing regulation, to introduce a procedure for salaries based on the end results of research (for example, advances could be given to institute scientific associates based on their average salary, followed by a salary readjustment). Why not use economic standards in assessing the implementation of an assignment in terms of extent, quality, originality and practical significance, in providing an overall solution to the problem of payments to education scientists. We should also make their salaries equal to those of teachers in pedagogical institutes. In order to eliminate equalization, which lowers the dignity of man and hinders the enhancement of the human factor in science, the 5-point scale adopted by the USSR Academy of Sciences should be adapted to the conditions of the USSR APN and the heads of scientific research institutes should be given the right to change the stipulations.

It is extremely important to broaden the autonomy of institutes on all matters of planning scientific research and the management and financing of studies. For example, it would be expedient for plans to be divided into two parts, in terms of volume and nature of projects. The first invariant—the general trend—should be ratified by the presidium; the second—the variant—should remain the prerogative of the institute. Cadre support for the first part of the plan should be firm; the creation (wherever and whenever necessary) of temporary scientific collectives should be allowed and encouraged on an interlaboratory and interinstitute basis. Wages should be correspondingly regulated.

The institutes should be allowed to create, reorganize and close down their subdivisions, taking into consideration the changing needs of science and practice. The entire system of accountability must be reviewed and the rights of the scientific councils must be substantially broadened. Why not allow the scientific research institutes independently to conclude economic contracts with enterprises and organizations and set their own research topics? And would consultations with scientists not be of practical help? Regional centers should be set up and

consultation activities should be organized by academic institutes, based on cost accounting and self-support principles. Members of the scientific councils of the institutes should be elected and periodically report to the labor collectives. The scientific councils should be given the right to allow their personnel to hold two separate jobs, etc. In short, all the necessary conditions to stimulate the creative initiative of the scientists should be provided.

The school reform must answer the second question as well: does the science of education have a real potential for ideas, the development of which would make a breakthrough in training and education practices possible? I believe that currently no one can be 100-percent sure of this. We need a kind of "inventory taking" of scientific-pedagogical knowledge in order to determine the possibility of the science to provide real help to practical workers. Today the weakest spot in the science of education is the lack of an integral theory of moral-aesthetic upbringing. Yet Soviet pedagogy has developed a major background in this area, such as A.S. Makarenko's theoretical legacy. Such work is being developed extremely slowly and, in any case, more slowly than our time demands it. The main difficulty is that our school which, with a persistence worthy of better use has been described as being both polytechnical and labor, has been neither for half a century. Makarenko's theory can be applied successfully only in establishments engaged in productive toil and not in institutions based on the high-school system.

The most general conclusion is that education and training must be organized on a scientific basis by systematically gaining knowledge and developing a unified integral concept. The study of real school practice and the thorough study of the experience of frontranking teachers and of the experience of Soviet schools and science of the 1920s as well as today's foreign experience, reinterpreted on the basis of Marxist-Leninist methodology, and the achievements of all the sciences of man, should become the main foundation for the development of pedagogical knowledge.

It is being said that today the schools urgently need major help on the part of society. This is unquestionably the case, for the problems of raising the growing generation have become so complex as a result of changes in sociocultural life and social mentality and value orientations of the population that professional teachers alone can no longer cope with all these tasks. This is a global problem. For example, it was no accident that the United States set up a national association for aid to the schools, in which about 1 million members actively participate in the organization of the training and education process (as teachers' aides in preparing and teaching classes, excursion guides, engineers operating technical training facilities, organizers of extracurricular circles, laboratory technicians, tutors of "problem" adolescents, etc.).

The Soviet school, through which passes the young generation of the country, is awaiting the organized help of our public. Naturally, this should not take the aspect of yet another supervisory authority, as has been suggested by some authors of articles. Bearing in mind that problems of education have long exceeded the framework of school and family, it becomes clear that contemporary education will be unable to formulate any kind of efficient practical recommendations without the support of social scientists, physicians, economists and men of culture and the arts.

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### **Train and Educate**

*18020009p Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 88 (signed to press 4 Feb 88) p 109*

[Letter to the editors by N. Bulgakov, candidate of historical sciences, head of the science and educational institutions department, Chelyabinsk CPSU Obkom]

[Text] Of late criticism of the science of education is becoming increasingly widespread and, unfortunately, assuming a blanket nature. In this connection, the article "Pedagogy: Need for Change," by V. Kumarin (KOMMUNIST No 15, 1987) proves that in general we must immediately convert from criticism to the tangible, the specific study of the stagnation phenomenon. The article not only polemically sharpens the real disproportions existing in pedagogical science and practice but also calls for rereading, from present-day positions, the most important, the fundamental principles of communist upbringing which V.I. Lenin himself laid down. It has become obvious today that the deeply instilled pedagogical stereotypes and cliches cannot be eliminated without the adoption of such an approach.

The CPSU gorkoms and raykoms in our oblast have drawn the attention of party organizations and faculties in schools, vocational-technical schools and other educational institutions to this article. The article was comprehensively discussed and, judging by information at our disposal, in the overwhelming majority of cases the views of the author were supported. Even the few who expressed their disagreement with his views, most of them pedagogical scientists, note the relevance and seriousness of the problems which were raised and which require comprehensive and constructive consideration.

Naturally, such problems are not resolved by majority vote. But the fact that there is a majority makes us consider the case of those who are blocking the very formulation of the pressing problems and arrogantly avoid their discussion.

The reform of general education and vocational schools is almost 4 years old. However, faulty education concepts stick out in all training-method aids and instructions issued by the Ministry of Education. Let me cite the theses issued by the USSR Ministry of Education. The crisis in educational work in schools is adequately noted in the chapter on perfecting the content and methods of upbringing. However, the conclusions drawn are amazing: "The training process remains a poorly used reserve for education yet it should be one of the principle means of influencing the personality of the student." It is precisely the use of a practice which is precisely the reason for the declining educational work in the schools that is encouraged.

The time has come to study most closely the experience of A.S. Makarenko and profoundly to interpret the nature of his educational technology, the use of which has been so far hindered by far-fetched references to the fact that he dealt with a different type of children and that the times were different. The groundlessness of these references is confirmed by the 20 years of practical experience of the boarding school at Mamlyutka Station, North Kazakhstan Oblast, whose principal, G.M. Kubrakov, has been using the Makarenko system despite all educational instructions. The example of this boarding school triggered in our oblast a mass movement for the creative utilization of Makarenko's principles in organizing the collective. In the course of the preparations for the celebration of the centennial of the birth of this great educator, the number of supporters of his system is increasing.

However, restructuring of educational work in the schools is having a hard time, encountering a variety of obstacles on its way. The main one is the stereotype which has sunk deep roots in the mind of the mass worker in education: "If I train that means that I educate." It is difficult, it is very difficult to understand a seemingly simple truth that the end results of education are knowledge, skills and habits and that education must lead to a habitual behavior.

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### **Excluding the Gross Output Approach**

*18020009q Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 88 (signed to press 4 Feb 88) p 110*

[Letter to the editors by E. Garunov, head, department of pedagogy of primary education, Dagestan Pedagogical Institute, docent, honored school teacher of the Dagestan ASSR]

[Text] It is very unfortunate that the gross output approach prevails in the training of our teachers. The work of schools is rated on the basis of numerical indicators. The first of them is the enrollment plan,

followed by the plan for the number of graduating students. Even if in the course of the training it becomes clear that a given student could not become a teacher and that he has no aptitude for this profession, we are forced to "drag him along" for the sake of the implementation of the plan. Every year we issue diplomas to many of our institute's graduates knowing quite well that they will not become real and creative teachers. At best they could train and educate children on the basis of ready-made prescriptions. In our type of work, however, this is inadmissible.

I would like to mention another problems as well. We live in a huge country inhabited by members of more than 100 nations and nationalities and national and ethnic groups. Our schools operate under a great variety of conditions. We, however, try to make this entire variety fit a single system. Here is a specific example: according to the reform documents, children can begin school at age 6; meanwhile, in the national schools of Dagestan and other republics they have already had previous training in a preparatory class which actually acts as a first grade. In addition to everything else, this additional year was used to teach the children Russian. The reform documents do not call for any preparatory classes. Henceforth, whether in Moscow or in a mountain village, the length of training in the primary schools will be the same. However, both conditions and levels of preschool training of children will be quite different. In addition to solving all training and education problems assigned to the teachers of the first grades in schools located in the mountains of Dagestan, the children must also learn Russian. Bearing in mind that in this case they would not obtain the necessary preschool training (most mountain villages have no permanent preschool institutions), it becomes obvious to any sensibly thinking person that in neither area will the tasks of primary education be solved in the same 4-year period.

A tremendous number of schools in our country are attended by children of different nationalities. In order to implement common training and education assignments, specific ways, means and methods must be used in such schools.

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### **Fighter for the Leninist Party**

*18020009r Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 88 (signed to press 4 Feb 88) pp 111-113*

[Article by A. Stepanov]

[Text] No more than a few days after the victory of the October Revolution the Soviet State and the Bolshevik Party which headed the revolution, and the Council of

People's Commissars which the party set up jointly with the left-wing SR, faced an incalculable number of most severe pressing problems. The new system was threatened from all sides.

It was under such most difficult circumstances that the first crisis broke out. On 4 (17) November 1917, L.B. Kamenev, G.Ye. Zinovyev, V.P. Nogin, A.I. Rykov and V.P. Milyutin resigned from the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party, and the last three from the Sovnarkom as well. The reason was their disagreement with the Central Committee over the establishment of the Soviet government. Favoring a government which would include all parties which called themselves socialist, the opposition, as V.I. Lenin said, "had entirely abandoned all basic positions held by bolshevism and the proletarian class struggle in general." Lenin repeatedly criticized the demand of setting up a "homogeneous socialist government." Nonetheless, Nogin kept his position as people's commissar of trade and industry; Milyutin, as people's commissar of agriculture; and Rykov as people's commissar of internal affairs.

Soon after that Lenin suggested that the duties of people's commissar of internal affairs be taken over by the old bolshevik Grigoriy Ivanovich Petrovskiy, with whom he was closely acquainted from the time of clandestine work.

"I begged him: 'Vladimir Ilich! Appoint any comrade you wish and let me be his assistant,'" Petrovskiy recalled later.

"Lenin answered: 'In times of revolution one does not refuse appointments.' Jokingly, laughing broadly, he added:

"'Assign to Petrovskiy two workers with rifles from Vyborg, to escort him to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and then let him try to refuse.'

"Naturally, after this suggestion I kept silent."

On Lenin's recommendation, on 17 (30) November 1917, G.I. Petrovskiy was appointed RSFSR people's commissar of internal affairs.

At that time the Cadet Party tried to mount a mass attack on the young Soviet system. The leadership of that party, which was the most dangerous because of its close ties with the Kornilov-Kaledin counterrevolution, hid itself behind the formal-democratic slogan of the Constituent Assembly but actually was promoting civil war in the country. The natural step for the new system's self-defense was the Decree on the Detention of the Leaders of the Civil War Against the Revolution, which Lenin signed on 28 November (11 December). Petrovskiy was one of the seven people's commissars who signed it. The document called for the immediate detention and trial by revolutionary tribunals of the members of the leading institutions of the Cadet Party as a party hostile

to the interests of the working people. The local soviets were instructed to provide special supervision over the Cadet Party because of its ties with the counterrevolution.

Many of the most important decrees promulgated in 1917 and 1918 were signed both by Lenin and Petrovskiy. The tasks of the socialist revolution, the decisive strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the mobilizing of the working people for the defeat of the domestic and foreign counterrevolution and the struggle for socialism demanded that control of the worker-peasant state be in the hands of people who were profoundly loyal to the revolution and who understood its objectives and prospects well.

G.I. Petrovskiy was precisely one such person. As a grandson of a peasant serf and son of an artisan and a washer-woman, a party member since 1897, who had been frequently detained by the tsarist security police and jailed for political activities, as an active participant in the first Russian revolution and a worker deputy in the 4th State Duma, where he exposed from its rostrum the arbitrariness of autocracy, for many years he had firmly defended the positions of the Bolshevik Party and the interests of the working class.

Under the Soviet period, Petrovskiy's activities as people's commissar is a clear example of the fact that progressive workers and peasants can successfully manage the complex state mechanism and, under most difficult circumstances, are able to find the proper approach to the solution of the problems of building socialism while, at the same time, remaining accessible and close to every worker, peasant or Red Army man.

Organizing the work of the people's commissariat headed by Petrovskiy, and defeating the overt or covert sabotage of officials who hoped for the restoration of the old order were all taking place with collective efforts and amounted to true revolutionary creativity. Initially, the people's commissariat had to deal with the implementation of the decrees of the VTsIK and the Sovnarkom and, at the same time, supervise their implementation, guide the economic activities of local soviets, head the struggle against epidemics, organize the statistical service and carry out a number of other urgent projects.

Petrovskiy dedicated his entire experience and knowledge to this work. He considered his constant contacts with Vladimir Ilich a matter of great importance. "Working under V.I. Lenin's guidance," he wrote, "was to us the greatest possible training. Lenin taught us how to govern the first worker-peasant state in the world. Better than anyone else, Ilich was able to feel, to understand the demands of the popular masses and sensitively to detect their moods... All of us learned from Lenin, from his amazing ability to penetrate into the heart of phenomena in solving a great variety of problems."

The installation of a Soviet system in the country called for protecting the personal safety of citizens against any criminal acts. The old police, however, was unsuitable for such purposes. That is why as early as 28 October (10 November) 1917 the decision was made to organize a worker militia which would be entirely and exclusively under the administration of the soviets of worker and soldier deputies.

Initially, naturally, neither workers nor peasants had any experience and knowledge needed to maintain order and fight crime successfully. Yet life demanded of them, on a daily basis, decisive steps against those who endangered the new socialist system. At the same time, there was an active search for forms of work by the Soviet militia. A great deal of efforts were made to train and educate the people who had become its members.

Acting in close contact with the VChK and the Red Army, arms in hand the militia defended the Soviet republic from the pressure of the White Guards and the foreign intervention. As people's commissar, Petrovskiy demanded of the workers and peasants who were joining the ranks of the militia to have high moral qualities and be particularly conscientious. For service in the militia involved constant difficulties and risk to life and the performance of difficult obligations night and day, week days and holidays, and the necessary restraint and tactfulness in relations with citizens. It was the sacred duty of anyone in charge of maintaining public order, people's commissar Petrovskiy tirelessly instilled in the first Soviet militiamen the need to earn the trust and respect of the population.

The most important landmark and peak time in G.I. Petrovskiy's political and state activities was the period during which, for nearly 20 years, he was the "all-Ukrainian elder," the chairman of the highest state authority of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic—the VUTsIK. Petrovskiy actively participated in drafting steps aimed at restoring and developing the industrial potential of the Ukraine, the coal and metallurgical industries of the Donbas above all. He frequently visited mines, plants and kolkhozes and addressed workers and peasants.

Petrovskiy ascribed great importance to problems of development of the socialist cooperative. Essentially rallying the "proletariat of the cities and the poor and middle peasant strata," the socialist cooperative introduced a new principle in relations among people. Petrovskiy considered the organization of the masses, a well-planned labor system, the introduction of piece-rate work in agriculture, promoting planning and issuing plans to each brigade, "so that every individual worker would be affected by this piece-rate system," the main trend in the positive activities of the communists and the soviet authorities.

"The work of cooperatives assumes tremendous, exceptional importance to our party," he wrote. "Everyone knows that cooperatives cover virtually the entire market. We have abolished the private entrepreneur and the cooperative has assumed a monopoly status. It is extremely unfortunate, however, that so far we have been unable suitably to cope with the proper allocation of commodities and with supplying the cooperatives... The cooperatives must be the subject of greater concern. We must invest greater efforts in them and give them the attention we give to industry. We must assign to them our best forces, the more capable people, for so far we still have no firmly established system. In the cooperative, which has assumed a dominant monopoly status in our country, there still is by no means even an elementary piece-rate work, incentive and bonus systems. That is why quite frequently our proletariat complain of the cooperatives' rudeness and many other aspects of waste of goods or their improper distribution among workers."

Petrovskiy's views on problems of party building are still relevant. Quite consistent with the present are his statements on the need to improve the ideological upbringing of the party members and to make stricter demands on the observance of party discipline and statutory requirements, and tirelessly to struggle for the pure and honest image of the party member.

G.I. Petrovskiy was a true Leninist leader. Sincerity, accessibility and wisdom were the features which made him liked and respected by the people. Rereading today recollections about Grigoriy Ivanovich and his own articles and records of speeches, we unwittingly think of the inexhaustible reserves of that which we now describe as the human factor, of the Leninist unbreakable unity between words and actions, and of the sacred yet entirely natural obligation felt by the bolshevik cohort of leaders, to be in the very thick of the people, to live with the interests and concerns of the people under all circumstances.

The profound mastery of the ideas of the founders of scientific communism made Petrovskiy a most highly educated Marxist and party propagandist of the Leninist school. He was distinguished by his ability to present to workers and peasants vividly, graphically and clearly even the most complex problems of the theory and practice of the revolution and building of socialism. The uniquely convincing nature of his public speeches captivated audiences. Petrovskiy always considered most important the people, their interests and their concerns. With his openness, accessibility and desire to listen to and understand the needs of the working people, Grigoriy Ivanovich was able to predispose them to engage in frank discussions and to the objective and interested and honest consideration of current problems and tasks. Systematic meetings with workers, peasants, intellectuals and young people, and his speeches at assemblies, meetings and conferences and correspondence with the working people were all inseparable features of his life.



The unjustified removal of Petrovskiy from all of his party and state positions by the end of the 1930s put an end to his active political activities.

During the period of the cult of Stalin's personality a tremendous harm was caused to the objective interpretation in publications of the role of many of Lenin's closest assistants in the revolutionary movement. A significant percentage of the active participants in the revolution and at the initial stage in building socialism fell victim to repressive measures and, for a long time, their names were ignored. G.I. Petrovskiy was among those whose merits to the party and the Soviet state were ignored and belittled. The historical events related to his personality were misrepresented to fit the concepts which had been established under the influence of the Short History Course of the VKP(b).

The restoration of the Leninist norms of party life marked the beginning of the difficult and painstaking efforts to restore historical truth and ensure the full rehabilitation of many of those who had become the victims of arbitrariness at the end of the 1930s. The study of G.I. Petrovskiy's comprehensive party and state activities was resumed. Once again his name assumed its proper place in the history of our party.

For a number of years, until his death on 9 January 1958, Petrovskiy worked as deputy director of the USSR Museum of the Revolution. Despite his advanced age and poor health, Grigoriy Ivanovich dedicated all his strength to the dissemination of the revolutionary traditions of the Communist Party and the Soviet people. He frequently delivered lectures to a great variety of audiences. He also completed his memoirs in which he vividly painted V.I. Lenin's portrait.

Until the end of his days G.I. Petrovskiy remained a loyal son of the party—honest, demanding and modest. He was a person of tremendous will power, deep convictions and generous heart. As Lenin's fellow worker and active participant in the October Revolution and the building of socialism in our country, he was one of those inflexible and legendary fighters of the bolshevik guard to whom the new generations of Soviet people owe an infinite debt.

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**The Socialist World is a Priority Topic**  
*18020009s Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3,*  
*Feb 88 (signed to press 4 Feb 88) pp 114-119*

[Text] The line adopted at the 27th CPSU Congress of restructuring relations between the USSR and the socialist countries in the interest of upgrading the efficiency of interaction with them and the fuller identification of the constructive opportunities of the new social system is

taking place in the course of a lively and extensive contacts among labor collectives, public organizations and individual citizens. The mass information media as well are called upon comprehensively to contribute to the reciprocal useful cooperation among our nations, to the strengthening of fruitful international relations, to enriching the material and spiritual culture of the socialist world and to seeking new approaches to the solution of arising problems.

The press, television and radio, as efficient instruments in restructuring our entire life, could make an equally substantial contribution to the process of the qualitative renovation of relations among socialist countries.

Of late there have been positive changes in the work of the Soviet press, television and radio in covering events in the fraternal nations and problems of the development of world socialism. The overall number of newspaper and journal publications and radio and television materials has increased and so has their topic and variety. More information is being provided on the progressive experience in building socialism and the aspiration of the journalists to present a real picture of life in the fraternal countries and their cooperation is being manifested with increasing clarity. This is exemplified in the series of PRAVDA articles by B. Averchenko and S. Vtorushin under the overall title "In the Czechoslovak Village," materials by V. Zakharko on Bulgaria, published in IZVESTIYA, G. Dadyants' essays "The Pressing Problems of Vietnam" in SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, V. Korotich's "Chinese Specifics" in OGONEK and others. There are more frequent cases of joint writing and exchange of information-propaganda materials, roundtable meetings and joint television and radio broadcasts (the interview granted by J. Lenart in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and Ya. Gluvchik in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, exchanges of articles among central party press, and linked television productions between Moscow and the capitals of a number of socialist countries). There is an active search for new forms, and new types of materials are appearing.

Naturally, such initial favorable changes do not mean that our journalism has already found the right key and eliminated internal and external difficulties which took decades to accumulate, that all lost opportunities have been regained and all possibilities used. So far there have been few materials of a problem, an analytical nature and many topics and subjects remain irrelevant. As a rule, materials on interparty cooperation, which are the soul of relations among socialist countries, remain on the level of official reports.

The central press does not sufficiently describe the experience of party leaderships in the most important sectors of building socialism and the ideological and educational work of the ruling parties, particularly among young people, the spiritual life of the people, the processes occurring in the cultural area and ideological

cooperation. In speaking of international activities our press, television and radio usually limit themselves to repeating official information.

Articles exposing the slandering by imperialist propaganda of the socialist social and state system and the nature of relations among fraternal parties and countries are insufficiently argued. They need a more profound interpretation of a convincing, inventive, efficient and aggressive nature.

Let us particularly mention widespread stereotypes in covering life in the socialist countries. In the course of the existence of the global socialist system the press gradually adopted the practice of drawing the attention of the readers above all to aspects of life and politics of communist and worker parties which coincide with our positions and views or are close to them. Specifics covering the development of one country or another and its original contribution to the theory and practice of building socialism were glossed over.

The intensified study of problems and trends frequently yielded to victorious reports, to the notorious "propaganda of success." The progress of socialism was depicted as one-dimensional and problem-free. This actually distorted the true picture of life and gave a wrong impression of developing processes. As a result, in frequent cases a situation developed in which the reader, bewitched by the depicted image of well-being and lack of conflict, was all of a sudden caught unawares by reports of deep critical upheavals occurring in one country or another. Such was the case with Czechoslovakia by the end of the 1960s and Poland at the start of the 1980s.

Gliding on the surface of problems and ostentation were frequently combined with "self-censorship," with the fear of saying anything which might go beyond the framework of accepted concepts. It is not astounding, therefore, that materials concerning socialist countries were frequently no more than illustrations of already familiar assessments and conclusions. Let us note for the sake of fairness that this was not exclusively the fault of our "pen-brothers."

Although the situation is presently changing for the better, recurrences of obsolete approaches and methods remain frequent. This is particularly striking in the case of news on the most important steps (party central committee plenums, parliament and government meetings, etc.), speeches by party and state leaders and reports on the initiatives of public organizations. As in the past, such materials bear the mark of ostentation and formalism. As a result, we are wasting the opportunity for making efficient use of very authoritative sources for the interpretation of most important problems, instead of which newspapers, the television and radio provide routine largely declarative and meaningless reports. Typically, the frequent justification for such formalism lack

of newspaper space or air time. However, it is precisely such restrictions that should free editors from the chains of obsolete stereotypes and cliches and cut through the heart of the matter.

The obvious of interest shown in such materials by readers, viewers and listeners is the result of such simplistic approaches to the interpretation of the problems of world socialism. In fact, what could one expect out of superficial articles or ordinary comments and monotonous essays and travel notes? Nonetheless, a "theoretical" substantiation for a decline in interest was even found: allegedly, it is essentially difficult to draw attention to something which is already quite familiar and clear from domestic experience.

Today the objective foundation for enhancing the interest of the Soviet public in the problems of the socialist countries has broadened substantially. First of all, life itself in these countries is becoming richer, better saturated with events and more varied; the originality of creative searches and solutions is becoming increasingly obvious, and their activities in the international arena are expanding. Second, relations among our countries are becoming more intensively developed and profound in all areas. Direct relations between labor collectives are increasing and ever-new population strata are becoming involved in cooperation; in other words, events in the socialist countries are becoming no longer objects of an abstract but of an entirely specific interest on the part of the Soviet people, based on practical necessity. Finally, the commonality of many contemporary problems is also exerting an influence.

The practical nature of the need for knowledge of the socialist countries raises as one of the most important requirements the need for full and objective information. In describing life in its variety and complexity and in analyzing the processes and phenomena within it, the journalists must be, above all, competent, accurate and, furthermore, take into consideration the specifics of the country, the national self-awareness and traditions of its people, and display maximal political tactfulness. In emphasizing the interpretation of the experience of the fraternal countries and their accomplishments and difficulties, and seeking ways of solving true contradictions, the mass information media are thus reflecting most fully our interest in the successes achieved by our friends, as well as our internationalism. The interest of building socialism and strengthening friendship and unity and intensifying reciprocal understanding on a principle-minded basis are decisive in solving the problem of glasnost in the work of the Soviet mass information media in reporting on problems of the socialist countries. The CPSU considers criticism and glasnost to be constructive factors.

The study of materials published of late in periodicals dealing with the socialist world indicate that it is no simple matter to give up durable stereotypes and cliches. There also are distortions and swings from one extreme

to another. In some cases, in trying to be objective, the author would draw the attention of the readers exclusively to the negative phenomena and difficulties, omitting achievements and overall positive results in the development of the respective areas. The "propaganda of successes" is replaced by the other extreme—the "propaganda of difficulties." In some cases, expressing his personal viewpoint on a given problem, the journalist does this as the final instance, as though acting as the umpire. This clashes with the principles governing our mutual relations, not to mention the professional and ethical aspects of the work. Objectiveness, a thorough scientific approach and comradely responsiveness are especially necessary in the study, dissemination and utilization of foreign experience in building socialism. Sociopolitical practice alone can be the supreme judge in assessing the achievements of individual countries and the entire community, and the main criterion should be the acceleration of social development and the actual strengthening of socialism.

A number of topics deserve increased study and coverage in the press. On the one hand, they are indicated by our needs and, on the other, by the richest possible experience acquired by the world socialist system. They include the development of socialist democracy, the work of representative authorities and self-governing institutions, both central and local, improvements in the political structures in the fraternal countries, including Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia; applying the achievements of scientific and technical progress in industry and agriculture, as in the GDR; experience in organizing agricultural production and solving the food problem, as in Czechoslovakia; various forms of combining public, group and private interests (which would include small enterprises, cooperatives and individual labor activity, as in Hungary, Poland and the PRC); developing the social activeness of the population at home in Bulgaria, the GDR and Czechoslovakia, and so on.

In formulating the strategy of restructuring and the concept of a radical economic reform, the CPSU studied the experience of the socialist countries. Nonetheless, activities for the dissemination and application of such experience cannot be considered satisfactory. Yet the study and dissemination of achieved results and learning from the best examples are the important task of the press, radio and television.

Of late the amount of materials describing the organization of the production process and methods of managing industrial enterprises and agricultural cooperatives, technological solutions and technical innovations, communal and consumer services to the population, the organization of trade and public catering, and so on, has increased noticeably. More materials are being published, the authors of which try to consider comprehensively and profoundly a given problem and to analyze its solution from the viewpoint of our own requirements and conditions. The readers were particularly interested

in the article by B. Fomin on the work of combines in the GDR, published in *EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA*; the section on "Experience of Our Friends: Ways of Application" published in *TRUD* and a report in *LITERATURNAYA GAZETA* on a meeting of the press club, involving journalists from Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, the USSR and Czechoslovakia. Newspaper, television and radio materials are engaging in greater criticism of departments and organizations which hinder the practical utilization of the best achievements of the fraternal countries in one area or another.

As a whole, however, we still notice in such work a lack of consistency and purposefulness and depth of analysis and scale of summations. Few materials deal with the major problems of building socialism. Furthermore, in disseminating specific scientific and technical achievements and successes in the organization of the production process or marketing, organizing consumer services, and so on, frequently the press does not describe what made such successes possible, their socioeconomic prerequisites, encountered difficulties and ways of surmounting them.

The dissemination of practical experience is only half the matter. The end objective is the practical use at home of anything that is valuable and progressive and already accomplished elsewhere. In this case the mass information media could play an efficient role. It is important not only to indicate specifically how one result or another was achieved and what possible difficulties were encountered in achieving it and the means applied in surmounting them, but also to suggest specific recommendations to departments, organizations and enterprises and, if necessary, describe the specific obstacles in the use of progressive experience. Clearly, the editors cannot engage in the specific and purposeful dissemination of the progressive experience of our friends without involving journalists writing on problems of domestic life.

One of the basic common topics of the Soviet press, television and radio is the economic and scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and the socialist countries.

At the present stage this topic faces our mass information media with more difficult and responsible assignments than it did in the past. Thus, the importance of direct production relations among labor collectives, joint enterprises and international associations and organizations has increased. However, such progressive forms which can ensure the dynamic growth of cooperation and the intensification of integration are encountering substantial difficulties in their development. That is why it is so important to pay increased attention to the application of new forms of integration, to expose shortcomings in this area and to interpret available experience more extensively. We must point out that a great deal of

materials have been published, which analyze the reasons for difficulties in the development of economic cooperation and name their specific culprits. Nonetheless, in this respect the real work of the mass information media is only beginning.

They must focus their attention on the implementation of the comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress of CEMA members until the year 2000. Today the center of international activities is shifting to large-scale cooperation in mastering the latest scientific and technical achievements and, on their basis, organizing the joint production of contemporary models of machines and equipment. A great deal in the successful implementation of the comprehensive program and in ensuring the dynamic development of integration processes as a whole depends on the activities of CEMA. Such activities and the entire mechanism of socialist economic integration need profound restructuring. Its beginning was laid with the decisions made at the October 1987 43rd (extraordinary) CEMA Session, which was held in Moscow.

Our journalists can be credited with extensive works on comprehensive economic and scientific and technical cooperation among the socialist countries (such as the articles by A. Krushinskiy in PRAVDA and some others). However, considering the significance and scale of the problems, their amount is entirely inadequate.

The joint implementation of a number of major construction projects on Soviet territory and in other countries is an important form of economic interaction within CEMA. Occasionally, major difficulties arise in the implementation of such projects. The press could help in the struggle against irresponsibility, incompetence and red tape and act as the organizer of useful initiatives in the interests of the efficient implementation of projects.

The stance held by a journalist covering problems of cooperation among our countries must not be one of a dispassionate recorder of events, facts and processes, but of an active propagandist of anything that is new and progressive, the stance of a fighter against bureaucratic obstructions, routine and conservatism.

Ties developed with the socialist countries along the line of party committees, soviet and economic authorities and trade union, Komsomol and other social and creative organizations are becoming increasingly broader and deeper. Involving tens of thousands of people, they play an invaluable role in the rapprochement among the peoples and strengthening feelings of the commonality of their destinies, ideals and objectives. They provide extensive opportunities for the study of experience, use of new forms of cooperations and exchange of spiritual values. Unfortunately, in this area the press is greatly lacking. Such topics are rarely treated in many local

periodicals and in television and radio programs. As a rule, they consist of repeating information provided by news agencies and reprints from the central press.

However, possibilities for regularly publishing materials on life in the socialist countries, including some original articles dealing with specific areas of interest exist. The main among them is the active involvement of the members of the local press in promoting fraternizing.

The interpretation of theoretical problems of development of world socialism, the extensive description of the activities of Marxist-Leninist parties for its renovation and democratization, and the acceleration of socioeconomic progress are of essential significance. The size of the readership and its efficiency provide the press with many advantages in this area compared to monographs which are frequently obsolete even before their publication. However, such opportunities are being insufficiently used. Materials which expose a variety of contemporary antisocialist theories and views and which rebuff efforts to present the strengthening of the socialist foundations for the development of our countries, democratization and economic reforms as a retreat from socialism are of exceptional importance.

The press, radio and television must consider international politics a serious and permanent target of their attention. In this area it is important to keep the public promptly informed of foreign political initiatives launched by the fraternal countries and their joint actions, and to describe the way the international activities of our friends reflect the new political thinking in approaches to the problems of the contemporary world.

The tasks which face the mass information media in the different countries are quite similar and coincide in their main aspects. That is why the constant creative interaction among them would facilitate the solution of such problems, without which it would be difficult to hope for comprehensive coverage of life in the socialist countries. The broadening of cooperation among news agencies and intensifying coordination in their activities are a significant reserve in the ideological work of the ruling parties and an efficient means of solving new problems and surmounting difficulties encountered in the development of relations among our countries.

At the present stage it is of exceptional importance to give a new impetus to practical contacts among journalists in the socialist countries and to publish more articles and interviews involving party and state leaders and noted public personalities, scientists, and publicists, and to produce joint newspaper sections and television and radio programs.

The role of the press, television and radio in the progress of our society and in developing cooperation between the USSR and the socialist countries and the potential of journalism predetermine the current approach adopted by the CPSU to mass information. This means giving the

journalists greater autonomy and freeing them from unnecessary petty supervision. However, the broadening of autonomy presumes stricter requirements concerning the ideological-political and professional standards of journalists and editors.

We must persistently seek new and efficient ways and means for the presentation of materials and making better use of the possibilities of the latest technical facilities. Naturally, we cannot achieve a restructuring of this work without adding to our newspapers, journals television and radio skilled cadres with proper knowledge of countries and linguistic training and without strengthening material and technical facilities and ensuring the availability of contemporary means of communications and reception, transmission and processing of information with computers and television and radio broadcasting linked by satellite.

The development of cooperation among socialist countries is a project involving millions of people. The press, television and radio, which are spreading their influence on the broadest possible social strata, are a means of international contacts and of strengthening unity among socialist countries and nations and accelerating their comprehensive progress.

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### **The Lessons of January 1968**

18020009t Moscow *KOMMUNIST* in Russian No 3, Feb 88 (signed to press 4 Feb 88) pp 120-122]

[Review of the article "Thinking of the Lessons of January 1968," by I. Rozsypal in NOVA MYSL, journal of the CZCP Central Committee, No 8, 1988, pp 39-49]

[Text] The article notes that, as socialism develops, problems of historical continuity become increasingly significant. In this connection, priority is given to a number of key events and aspects, one of which is the January 1968 CZCP Central Committee Plenum. The Czechoslovak public considers it as a confrontation between the Leninist and creative concept of socialism, on the one hand, and the dogmatic and bureaucratic one, on the other, as the line separating extensive from intensive development, and as the most serious test of the party's theoretical readiness and tactical ability to wage an efficient struggle for a revolutionary solution to the growing sociopolitical crisis in the country, erecting a barrier to the counterrevolution. The results of this plenum have left behind a very contradictory wake in the history of the CZCP and Czechoslovakia. Essentially the efforts aimed at putting an end to deformations and subjectivism were manifestations of historical necessity. Nonetheless, they were also under the influence of a number of random factors.

According to the author, the study of the January 1968 events must be based on the correlation of class forces in Europe and throughout the world, the determination of the extent of maturity of socialism on a national and international scale and the circumstances which preceded and followed these events. The different political forces invested in the plenum's decisions disparate and frequently diametrically opposite meanings, hopes and fears. An overt and covert struggle developed from the very beginning on interpreting the nature of events and the problems of the time, the solution of which was not only complicated but frequently became impossible for the lack of a united approach to party leadership, a differentiation of views within the CZCP Central Committee and of views held within and outside the party. The features of that period also include the fact that above all by virtue of insufficient unity in CZCP leadership, instead of party unity and a purposeful and energetic struggle for the systematic and creative implementation of socialist principles, matters were reduced to improvisations, maneuverings, compromise concessions to random pressures with no justification, and the unwillingness to note the increased activities of right-wing forces, hostile to socialism.

The January events, the article points out, were needed in order to come out of the precrisis situation, and as a means of correcting shortcomings and removing the barriers which were obstructing the all-round healthy development of socialism. Nonetheless, as the result of the failure to make essentially correct decisions and set objectives, a profound crisis was initiated. The events which developed by the turn of 1968 did not come to an end either in August 1968 or in April 1969 or even after the period of consolidation, the results of which were summed up at the 14th CZCP Congress. One way or another, they have been apparent for the past 20 years. Unquestionably, preventing the danger of a crisis turning into a counterrevolutionary variant, has been one of the major successes of party policy over the past 18 years.

In order to surmount the danger of counterrevolution, the author writes, it was necessary to focus the attention above all on eliminating the consequences of crisis phenomena in the course of which lesser attention was paid to the elimination of the causes. The emphasis was rather on defending instead of developing socialist principles. The emphasis was more on internationalism than patriotism. Theoretically, it was not on the search for new approaches and solutions but, above all, on defending the fundamental principles of socialism. In connection with the objective need of the struggle along the entire front against revisionism and right-wing opportunism, priority was given to the struggle against nationalistic and antisocialist views.

Today, the author emphasizes, based on the rich experience of the last 20 years, and discussing the essentially positive trend of the approaches adopted at the January CZCP Central Committee Plenum regarding the most

important problems of party and social life, we do not forget its weak and contradictory aspects. Many of them were related to the fact that the plenum was influenced by a number of subjective factors, above all A. Novotny's unwillingness to draw conclusions from the criticism of the leadership methods used by the Central Committee. Concentrating the attention on the problem of placing in a single pair of hands leading party and state functions related to the national problems of Czechoslovakia led us astray from a discussion of fundamental political problems, from the question of the essence and meaning of changes in the party and the society. The emphasis in the debates and, subsequently, in informing the party aktiv and the broad public on the results of the plenum, was largely in the nature of a discussion of the subjective features inherent in the leader. No clear interpretation was given of views on perfecting the system of party, political and economic management and on the level reached in the development of socialist society and its longer-range future.

The experience of all socialist countries and the particularly instructive process of the development of restructuring of social life in the USSR, the journal goes on to note, indicate that matters cannot be limited to minor cosmetic steps and partial changes of individual structures. This must be a question of an all-round acceleration of social dynamics which, in terms of depth and means of implementation, is of a revolutionary nature. The experience of the CZCP in implementing the program of the 17th Congress confirms that phenomena of stagnation, inertia, routine and conservatism in mental and practical activities can be successfully surmounted only on the initiative and under the guidance of the party, based on unity of action between the central and local authorities and on the force of the example set by leading officials and all party members. Wherever the communist party, its leading authorities above all, are not heading such processes, whatever the reason may be, the situation becomes fraught with a weakening of its influence and could harm its authority. The antisocialist forces of all types wait for such a time and attempt to use it in order to absolutize errors and shortcomings; they try to dispute the objective nature of the party's leading role, to discredit its theory and to undermine trust in the party members.

If the party is unable promptly to solve arising problems, if it ignores shortcomings, conceals its own errors, helps its members to avoid responsibility, does not oppose idle talk and aspiration for privileged status with communist modesty and allows a pharisaic interpretation of legality and morality, all of these factors negatively influence its ties with the masses, politically corrupt society, demoralize it, and pour grist in the mill of the reactionary elements, allowing them to become organized, to create and opposition platform and to promote antisocialist moods.

The January CZCP Central Committee Plenum failed to draw the necessary conclusions for the unification of party ranks in support of clear and understandable

objectives. It did not mobilize the party and all socialist and patriotic forces in society to surmount shortcomings and to solve the more difficult problems. Under the thus-developed circumstances, when members of the CZCP, loyal to the ideals of socialism, and of the other political parties within the National Front, lacked a specific positive program for further action, the members of right-wing political groups offered their own demagogic plans, concealed behind a variety of labels, thus making even more dangerous their intentions of removing the CZCP from power and from political leadership and alienating it from the masses, depriving it of its influence and surreptitiously and gradually achieving their objective: a return to the pre-February 1948 situation and later to the situation which prevailed until May 1945.

January 1968 opened the way to the implementation of such plans in the sense that the party, weakened by the inability of the then leadership to head the developing movement aimed at correcting the errors and clearing the way for extensive creative activity, was not ready to perform this task adequately and on time. For these and other reasons, in the course of several months in 1968 a favorable opportunity was lost and developments took place in a directly opposite direction which conflicted with the true nature of events of the first weeks of 1968.

In the present age of revolutionary changes related to the restructuring of social life, the question legitimately arises of the interconnection between present and past concepts. What are the common features linking the plans for political, economic and social reform of the second half of the 1960s and the current reform program?

According to the author of the article, we must reconsider the events of 20 years ago not as chroniclers or eye witnesses; even less so should we mechanically apply the concepts and views expressed at that time to present-day reality. Such an approach should be countered above all with the purposeful presentation to the party aktiv and the broad public of the key problems of contemporary policy. Hostile propaganda would be very pleased to use the bitter lessons of those days to discredit the line which followed since April 1969. It is for these and other reasons that, on the basis of a profound study of the facts, we must interpret from the positions of a historical approach a certain similarity between the features of the pressing need for reform in the 1960s and the reform of the 1980s. At the same time, it is just as important to note the essential difference between the revolutionary and counterrevolutionary platforms and the incompatibility between the Leninist and the pseudo-Leninist ways of solving real-life contradictions. Deeper answers must be found to the following questions: What are the origins of long-term shortcomings in party work, such as underestimating theoretical activities, manifestations of revisionism, dogmatism, liberalism and sectarianism, swinging from one extreme to another, a mechanistic understanding of the unity between party and society,

underestimating the study of problems related to the management of social processes, and manifestations of technocracy, pragmatism, practicalism and ideological carelessness.

The author emphasizes that not only trends toward a rapprochement among economic, political and other mechanisms or toward equalizing the levels of socioeconomic development may be manifested in individual socialist countries. Along with them, over long periods of time, historically developing features appear; differences in the ways and means of development of socialism do not vanish. We must distinguish between two approaches which are conflicting from the class and theoretical viewpoints: the first is harnessing the entire resources of the individual country in the interest of making a maximal contribution to the common cause of socialism and the growth of its authority and attractiveness; the other is efforts to misuse objectively existing characteristics within each country in order to support autarchic trends, to weaken relations within the socialist community and to pit domestic against foreign experience.

The main problem of January 1968, the author writes, was the struggle on the question of the party's position and role in society. Its formulation was defined by the requirements of social practice and dictated by the objective need comprehensively to strengthen the party's role and to improve the style and methods of its activities in some areas and among individual social groups. However, insufficient familiarity with the theory of Leninism, added to the lack of understanding of and superficial attitude toward the experience of other countries, was the reason for the failure to formulate a clear party position.

The article notes that the January CZCP Central Committee Plenum also raised for discussion the question of the functioning of the political system in Czechoslovak society. However, even on this matter the party's leadership did not adopt a firm and clear position, which led to spontaneous political pressure from below which, added to spontaneous aspirations and expectations on the part of the broad public, expressed the growing organized efforts of counterrevolutionary forces gradually to seize the power. A similar situation prevailed in solving the problem of the National Front.

The author concludes that the most profound source for the grave contradictions which developed during the first months of 1968 was the inability to control economic processes. Society was harmed by the belated and inconsistent implementation of the 1965 planning and management reform and the hasty and unweighed formulation of all kinds of social requirements, not all of them justified. A study of the situation indicates that the possibility of extensive development had already then become essentially exhausted. The country was facing the need for all-round intensification of the economy

and making the exercise of democratic centralism consistent with the requirements of a qualitative development. Instead, technocratic concepts were instilled and variants of commodity-monetary relations, a market-oriented economy and decentralization were suggested, which depreciated the instruments of a planned economy and lowered the efficiency of the state economic management.

According to the author, instead of making the socialist political system consistent with the new conditions and to upgrade the efficiency of its functioning, the ideas of democratization and self-government were demagogically abused. Tempestuous activities aimed at creating self-governing authorities and formulating the means of electing them became one of the manifestations of this fact. In this case as well the right-wing forces speculated on the problems which had remained unsolved over long periods of time.

The struggle between the true supporters and the opponents of socialist reforms has been fought actively from the very beginning and particularly intensively in the ideological area, above all in the mass information media. Reality has brought to light the existence of a number of weak spots in this area, which have been used for purposes of ideological disorientation of a significant segment of the population.

If we were to formulate the main conclusion of the historical significance of the January plenum, the author sums up, it would be that already then objective conditions had matured and, in a number of cases, had become overripe, in the promotion of programs for broad social reforms. However, the CZCP leadership did not develop at the proper time the forces which could submit to the entire party and to the National Front a suitable program, displaying proper initiative and the resolve needed for its implementation thereby giving it a truly revolutionary nature, and a systematic evaluation of the processes of essential social changes, directing them, extracting lessons from them, determining their strict socialist trend, and providing the ideological and political means for limiting any effort to discredit socialist gains.

Lessons for the future can be drawn not only from successes but also from shortcomings. The restructuring of Czechoslovak society and the acceleration of socioeconomic development demand the use of anything which has proved its truly revolutionary nature over the past quarter of a century and has promoted the implementation of the principle of more socialism, more democracy and more justice.

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### Path of Labor and Struggle

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Feb 88 (signed to press 4 Feb 88) pp 123-124

[Review by V. Potapov of the book "*Izbranyye Proizvedeniya. 1982-1986 Gg.*" [Selected Works, 1982-1986] by N. Ceausescu. Politizdat, Moscow, 1987, 399 pp]

[Text] Politizdat has published the "*Selected Works*" of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and President of the Romanian Socialist Republic. The book includes reports, speeches and addresses which extensively cover the domestic and foreign policy of the Romanian Socialist Republic and topical problems of the RCP, which is heading the struggle waged by the Romanian people for building a new society.

The Romanian Communist Party, which already has more than 3.7 million members, has crossed a long distance of labor and struggle. In his address in May 1986, on the occasion of the 65th anniversary of the RCP, Ceausescu noted that "the party has honorably fulfilled and is fulfilling its historical mission, leading the entire nation toward building socialism and communism, well-being and happiness" (p 297). Romania has gone through several historical stages in its development. From an agrarian country with underdeveloped industry and backward agriculture, in no more than 40 years it has become and industrial-agrarian state with large-scale contemporary industry and socialist agriculture.

Based on its own efforts and thanks to its cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, Romania essentially created a material and technical foundation, the nucleus of which was heavy industry and sectors such as power industry, machine building and chemistry. New and modern production facilities appeared and were perfected. Compared with 1944, its current industrial output has increased by a factor of 120 and its agricultural production, by a factor of nearly 9. The share of industry in the national income exceeds 60 percent and accounts for 90 percent of the needs of the country for machines and equipment. Within that period Romania's GNP increased by a factor of 28 and its national income by a factor of 33. In the course of the four postwar decades, its consumption fund increased by a factor of 22 and more than 6 million jobs were created. More than 82 percent of the country's population lives in new homes (see SCINTEIA, 15 December 1987).

In addition to the successes achieved by the Romanian economy, the collection also notes difficulties and analyzes the ways of surmounting them. Romania's economic upsurge, which was the result mainly of extensive production development, experienced some hindrances at the beginning of the 1980s, when the country encountered a number of problems which appeared, as was noted in the accountability report presented by the Central Committee to the 13th RCP Congress, "as a

result of some internal contradictions, ...and the influence of the global economic crisis" (p 116). Industrial procurements, the use of fixed capital and the satisfaction of population consumer demand worsened. Some shortcomings were also noted in the activities of party, economic and administrative authorities in the application of intensive economic management methods.

Currently the country is in a state of transition to intensive development and is seeking the most efficient ways of improving its material and technical base and overall production forces. N. Ceausescu noted in his June 1986 address to the RCP Central Committee Plenum, that the main task of the 8th 5-year plan is Romania's conversion from the stage of a developing country to a higher one—of an averagely developed country—so that in the future, by the year 2000, it may become a comprehensively developed country in which the communist principles of work and life will be powerfully asserted in all areas (see p 338). The prime task is that of broadening its own fuel and raw material base, ensuring the economy with the necessary power resources and carrying out the scientific and technical and agrarian revolutions.

The implementation of the resolutions of the 13th RCP Congress will require improvements in the new financial and economic mechanism. In this connection, economic cadres which cling to the old management and financing mechanism were sharply criticized. The old mechanism, Ceausescu said at the June 1986 RCP Central Committee Plenum, "must be firmly thrown, as they say, into the garbage can and we must firmly apply the new mechanism—self-government and self-economic management." It must no longer be allowed for enterprises "to live at the expense of the budget or of someone else's labor!" (p 342).

Describing in his report at the 14-16 December 1987 National Party Conference the course of implementation of the resolutions of the 13th RCP Congress in the socioeconomic area, Ceausescu said that the results which were achieved were below the planned figures and possibilities of the Romanian economy. Some managers of party and economic agencies were criticized for "displaying complacency, smugness and aspiration to conceal negative phenomena."

N. Ceausescu notes in his addresses that under the conditions of the increased scale of public production and the significant worsening in economic relations, it has become necessary to structure an optimal scientific system for managing and enhancing sociopolitical life, applying the new economic mechanism, developing self-government and self-economic management and comprehensively disseminating global contracting (cost accounting) and ensuring the participation of all enterprise and office workers in shaping enterprise funds through their personal contributions. Involving increasingly broader masses in public management also raises

problems of the further development of socialist democracy. The author cites a number of examples of the way Romania is ensuring the practical application of this concept.

The solution of important socioeconomic problems is being increasingly linked to the intensive involvement of the Romanian national economy in the international division of labor. In the course of the existence of CEMA, Romania increased the volume of its economic relations with its members by a factor of more than 18. The high pace of development of its economy was the base for the country's participation in international trade. Ceausescu noted at the 13th RCP Congress that Romania will "actively participated in plan coordination, production specialization and joint scientific and technical research, so that CEMA may become even more important in the socioeconomic development of its members, in building socialism and communism and in upgrading the well-being of our nations" (p 126).

Soviet-Romanian economic cooperation is characterized by a highly dynamic nature, a broad scale and reciprocal advantages. In recent years the share of the Soviet Union in Romanian foreign trade has increased substantially, reaching the 28 percent level. In the course of M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Romania in May 1987 and his talks with Ceausescu, the wish was expressed of upgrading the role of reciprocal economic cooperation and specific steps were earmarked for the implementation of the May 1986 long-term program for the development of economic and scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and Romania for the period until the year 2000. "I am convinced," M.S. Gorbachev emphasized, "that qualitative changes in cooperation will not only bring about material dividends but will also have a fruitful reflection on Soviet-Romanian relations as a whole and will contribute to the further strengthening of the friendship between our peoples."

In his speeches, Ceausescu pays great attention to the party's ideological work and the dissemination of the idea of revolutionary concepts, scientific socialism and interpretation of party policy in building socialism and in international affairs. He emphasizes the need always to rely on the theory of Marxism-Leninism. The task of RCP political education is to shape the new man, the builder of socialism, who must "wage a decisive struggle against nationalism, chauvinism, racism and other forms of manifestation of mysticism and bourgeois regressive concepts, to promote revolutionary awareness and feelings of patriotism, cohesion and unity within the entire nation" (p 305).

The author repeatedly turns to the history of the Romanian people and their struggle for social and national freedom, independence and unity, and the participation of Romania in the final stage of World War II in the struggle against Hitlerite Germany. Ceausescu highly rates the victories of the Soviet army, which provided the external favorable conditions for the 23 August 1944

uprising: "We give its proper due to and honor the Soviet army and Soviet troops who withstood the hardship of the battles against fascism and who sacrificed themselves for the sake of the defeat of fascism!" (p 96).

Problems of Romanian foreign policy account for a great part of Ceausescu's addresses. In his speech at the RCP National Conference he highly rated the Soviet-American treaty on the elimination of short- and medium-range nuclear missiles of December 1987 in the course of the visit paid by M.S. Gorbachev to the United States. Romania favors the creation of a Balkan zone free from nuclear and chemical weapons. It firmly supports the Soviet initiatives aimed at ensuring European security and a world free from nuclear weapons.

The author discusses the business and friendly relations between Romania and the Soviet Union, and Romanian cooperation with the other socialist countries. Ceausescu has visited the USSR on official and informal occasions repeatedly and has attended CPSU Congresses. In his address at our party's 27th Congress, he noted with satisfaction the strong relations existing between the RCP and the CPSU and expressed "the resolve to do everything possible for their further development for the good and in the interests of both countries and the common cause of socialism at peace" (p 259).

The publication in the USSR of the collection of works by N. Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP and president of the Romanian Socialist Republic, enables the Soviet people to become more familiar with the policies of a fraternal communist party and will serve the further strengthening of Soviet-Romanian relations.

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#### Words, Actions, Life

18020009v Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 88 (signed to press 4 Feb 88) pp 125-126

[Text] "Komissary na Linii Ognya" [Commissars on the Firing Line]. Books 1-5; "Komissary Zashchishchayut Mir" [The Commissars in the Defense of Peace]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1984-1987. Reviewed by N. Yefimov, candidate of philosophical sciences]

The multiple-volume work completed by Politizdat tells the tale of Georgiy Pylayev, commissar of the 28th Iron Division; Yefim Fomin, regimental commissar at the Brest Fortress; Nikolay Shornikov, deputy political commander of a motorized infantry company, and dozens of other representatives of the party in the army and navy, promoters of its policy in military collectives during the civil and Great Patriotic wars and at the present time.

The essays, the authors of which are writers and journalists, describe the political workers in subunits, units and divisions, those who are always among the troops, sharing with them the joys of victory and bitterness of defeats and failures in the war years.

On the basis of extensive factual data the authors draw the collective picture of the military commissar and political worker, bringing to light new names and events unknown to the readership at large. The essays recreate heroic pages of the history of our socialist fatherland and the struggle in the defense of the gains of the October Revolution.

The first two volumes are about the military commissars in the civil war, the outcome of which was to determine whether the young Soviet republic would be able to withstand the pressure of the combined forces of the domestic and foreign counterrevolution or, as had been the case 50 years previously with the Paris Commune, would perish. The fate of the October Revolution was decided at that time above all at the front. That is precisely why the party directed at that time, critical to the country, its best sons to the Red Army and the front.

"The military commissars are the guardians of the close and unbreakable internal connection between the Red Army and the worker and peasant regime as a whole," stipulated the resolution of the 5th All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Worker, Peasant, Soldier and Cossack Deputies. "The position of military commissar, to whom the fate of the armed forces is entrusted, must be filled only by impeccable revolutionaries and firm fighters for the cause of the proletariat and the rural poor."

The traditions started by the commissars in the civil war were continued and multiplied by political workers during the Great Patriotic War. Three works in this collection of essays deal with the heroism of the political fighters during the years of severe trials. They describe the comprehensive activities of political workers who fought on land, in the air and at sea.

In a war, particularly against an experienced, treacherous and technically well-equipped enemy, the moral spirit of the armed forces is an important component of victory. It was largely thanks to the spiritual superiority of the Soviet people that our armed forces were able to prevail in the clash with the fascist aggressors.

High political consciousness, firmness in battle and an aggressive thrust do not come by themselves. They are always the result, the peak of painstaking party-political work, the immediate organizers of which are commissars and political instructors. They were always on the fire line, among the troops, lifting their morale with the word of the party and their personal example and, frequently, at the cost of their own lives instilling faith in the future victory. The essays bring to the reader of today the atmosphere of those years, vividly describing the immortal exploits of the party's political fighters.

Today the character of the commissar in the Great Patriotic War appears to us in its entire greatness and heroism. Neither the arbitrariness and repressions of the 1930s, which caused tremendous harm to the Soviet armed forces, or the failures experienced during the first months of the war shook up his belief in the justice of the socialist choice which the working people made in October 1917. He shared this conviction with the Soviet soldier, who won a battle of unparalleled scale and intensiveness against the worst enemy—Hitlerite fascism—which threatened the enslavement of all mankind.

The tale of the heroes of the civil and Great Patriotic wars legitimately ends with the book "Commissars Defend the Peace," which describes political workers in units and subunits in the 1980s, who have been presented with governmental awards in days of peace. "Our time, a time of honest assessments and of the active role of man in building communism and its armed defense," the preface to the volume reads, "demands of the political workers the loftiest possible ideological, combat and spiritual qualities."

Such are precisely the qualities which contemporary commissars have today. The heroes of the essays include airman Valentin Kulyapin, artillery man Vladimir Sadkovskiy and seaman Yuriy Yakovlev, who are continuing the glorious traditions of the military guard of party workers. They are distinguished by ideological maturity, competence, humaneness, courage and dedication in the implementation of their patriotic and internationalist duty.

Today they are in the vanguard of the struggle for restructuring, which has encompassed the armed forces as well. It is no secret that the years of stagnation also affected the army and navy, manifested, in particular, in nonstatutory interrelationships, carelessness, moral faults and the habit of tolerating shortcomings. We believe that the participation of political workers in the struggle for restructuring and for cleansing the body of the armed forces from the encrustations of the past deserves greater attention on the part of military journalists and a more profound artistic interpretation, the more so since occasionally opposing hypocrisy, stagnation, white-washing and conservatism demands no less courage than an open battle with the enemy.

This cycle of books on commissars, published by Politizdat, means, as a whole, the assignment of highlighting the comprehensiveness, difficulty and responsible nature of the work of the party worker in the armed forces and the greatness of his exploits. It is quite symbolic that this publication was completed on the eve of the anniversary of the Great October Revolution, to the defense of the ideals of which the commissars dedicated their lives.

"*Komissary*" [Commissars]. Collection compiled by A.L. Afanasyev. Molodaya Gvardiya, Moscow, 1986, 399 pp. Reviewed by Major General N. Tabunov, doctor of philosophical sciences.

This is yet another book on people whose character, hallowed by legends, continues to trigger the admiration of their descendants, a book about those who had the great honor to make the first socialist revolution in the world and to defend its gains. The history of the Soviet republic itself is embodied in their destinies, for they fought for the people's regime in the battles against the White Guards and the interventionists, raised the country from dislocation, poverty and ignorance, helped it to grow during the years of the 5-year plans into an industrial state which was able to withstand the mortal battle against fascism and which crushed it. This is a book about people of duty, honor and firm principles, who did not spare their efforts or even their lives for the sake of the happiness of the people, people who bore the proud title of "commissar."

How not to remember the text of the resolution adopted at the 8th RKP(b) Congress, which was held during one of the tensest moments of the civil war. "Commissars in the army," the document reads, "are not only the direct and immediate representatives of the Soviet system but, above all, the bearers of the spirit of our party and its discipline, firmness and courage in the struggle for the implementation of its objectives." Such were also the people about whom this book was written.

The memory of man is imperfect. Sometimes it ignores even those whose actions made the glory of the fatherland. There is no way of preserving their names for future generations other than describing the biographies of the heroes in the chronicles of our history and in monuments of literature and the arts. For more than half a century—55 years—this noble task has been carried out through the series "Lives of Outstanding People," which enjoys unabated popularity. The series also includes the heroes of the book under review.

This collection, authored by journalists, writers and historians, describes nine Bolsheviks-Leninists, people whose destinies were outstanding and unusual, who were legendary heroes of the Great October Revolution and the civil and Great Patriotic wars. Their names are Nikolay Podvoyskiy, Nikolay Markin, Meshadi Azizbekov, Aleksandra Kollontay, Andrey Bubnov, Ivan Lepse, Vasiliy Klochkov, Aleksey Shakhurin and Aleksandr Shcherbakov. The authors have been able to shed extensive new light on their careers and find little-known or previously undescribed aspects of their lives.

The collection "Komissary" includes descriptions of nine portraits of bolsheviks. These are nine lives of different people who grew up under different social circumstances, dissimilar in nature, of different professions and educational standards. However, all of them are linked by their inflexible belief in the ideals of communism, infinite loyalty to the party, and oneness with the life of the homeland and their people. Every

single one of them showed fantastic stamina and firmness in learning, and strict observance of party, state and civic duty, and the ability to establish contacts with people, to organize the masses, to earn their trust and to lead them.

The lives of the best representatives of the party, the people who were given the noble and, at the same time, simple title of "commissar," were heroic, outstanding and, sometimes, tragic. This was not simply a position but a state of mind, a way of life, in which all forces were dedicated to serving our common cause.

In his meeting with the heads of the mass information media and creative associations, last July, M.S. Gorbachev particularly emphasized that "we must speak of our 70th anniversary with pride in our great people, their history and their exploits." It is precisely this that applies to the book "Komissary." It describes the most valuable moral lessons of history—lessons of how to live for the sake of truth and the bright ideals of communism.

The book under review is of uneven quality. The heroes are depicted with different levels of depth and artistic summation. In some essays suddenly the authors drift into patterns, dryly presenting some periods in the lives of such outstanding people. As a whole, however, the book is unquestionably successful. The readers will find a number of exciting segments. They will bring to mind associations with our time of revolutionary change, because today as well the participants in restructuring must display initiative, daring and high moral qualities, those same features which were inherent in the people whose lives were described in this collection.

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05003

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18020009w Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 88 (signed to press 4 Feb 88) pp 127-128

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2. "K. Marks, F. Engels, V.I. Lenin. Aforizmy, Izrecheniya" [K. Marx, F. Engels and V.I. Lenin. Aphorisms, Sayings]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1987, 541 pp.

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05003

### Chronicle. Meetings With the Editors

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[Text] A meeting with the party aktiv and propagandists of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and KOMMUNIST editors was held. Attention was focused on problems of restructuring the economic and political system, party and societal democratization and preparations for the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

A meeting was held between heads of economic organizations in Moscow Oblast and journal personnel, at which theoretical and practical problems of the radical economic reform, the experience in implementing the principles of self-government in production collectives and ways and forms of party work in the period of restructuring were discussed.

The editors were visited by B. Ligden, editor in chief of NAMYN AMDRAL, editor in chief of the political and theoretical journal of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee. Problems of work and cooperation between the two fraternal journals were discussed.

The editors were visited by a delegation of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, headed by its secretary general, Nayef Hawatme. The guests were interested in the reorganization in the USSR and problems of ensuring the irreversible nature of changes. They described the current decisive stage in the struggle waged by the Palestinian people for national self-determination and creation of an independent state and against the imperialism and annexation policy of Israeli ruling circles.

Italian journalist Yolanda Bufalini visited KOMMUNIST. She was interested in the theory and practice of Soviet economic management in the process of restructuring the economic mechanism.

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94

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